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THE KṚṢṆA PROBLEM

BY

S. N. TADAPATRIKAR, M. A.

I-INTRODUCTORY

1. Vāsudeva has been, ever since the 3rd or 4th century B. C. or even before the advent of Buddhism, worshipped by a great number of Indians, who called themselves Bhāgavatas, devotees of Bhagavat, the supreme Godhead. They took Vāsudeva to be the creator of the worlds and beings, the disposer of destinies, and had identified him with Kṛṣṇa,—in fact, believed that Kṛṣṇa of the Mahābhārata and the Purāṇas, Kṛṣṇa, the preacher of the message of Bhagavadgītā, was this same Vāsudeva, the Yādava hero, who had come down as an incarnation of the Great God Viṣṇu Nārāyaṇa, and it was with this complete identification at heart, that a great literature of the Bhāgavatas was composed in the mediæval period. The sentiment of devotion, once rooted, spread in all its branches over the whole of India, and Rāmānuja and Madhva in the South, Rāmānanda, Mirābāi, Kabir, Vallabha, and the saints in Mathurā in the North, and Caitanya in the East, all contributed to bhagavatise the whole of India till the 16th century, when the Maratha saints took up the flag, and calling Viṭṭhala, the Kṛṣṇa of the Kali age, took the message of devotion to the most illiterate masses. Curiously enough, the Bhāgavata religion had among its followers, some foreign converts too, and the eagle pillar erected by Holiodorus¹ at Besnagar in the 2nd century B. C., and Mahomedans² becoming Bhāgavata saints in the 16th century and onwards, are instances to quote.

As was natural, the original tenets of the Bhāgavata religion were, during the course of time, mixed up with other principles, and ultimately the principles of utmost devotion only remained

1 R. G. B. Works, vol. IV, p. 14.

2 Mahārāṣṭra Sārasvata, pp. 198-200 Shaikh Mahamad ; p. 519 Shaikh Sultan p. 522, Shaha Muni.

common to all the followers. The philosophies of Rāmānuja, and Madhva, the different forms of worship among the different sub-sects of the Bhāgavatas, all go to prove this ; so that even among the followers of Śaṅkara, the great Advaita preacher, there are many who call themselves Bhāgavatas, professing that, devotion to the God, is not discordant with extreme monism, and it is of interest to note that regular efforts have been made to prove that it is so. It is not within the province of the present thesis to go into any details thereof, the foregoing being meant only to serve as a general trace of the spread of the Bhāgavata religion.

2. Although there were among these millions, scholars of great intellect, who wrote many learned works on this religion, none ever had the slightest doubt about the identification of Vāsudeva, Kṛṣṇa, Nārāyaṇa, and Viṣṇu, and it was only during the last century, when the critical analysis of the Western scholars put the whole material to test, that doubts were raised as to whether all these were from the first identical, or any stages could be traced out to show the development of the Bhāgavata ideas about their Supreme God ; and though many have collected and classified material to draw conclusions from, still no satisfactory solution has been arrived at, and the Kṛṣṇa problem stands at the present day, as uncertain, as it did at the beginning of the investigation.

To give an idea of the work done in this line, the late Sir R. G. Bhandarkar,¹ in his Report on the search for Sanskrit MSS. for 1883-84, gave an outline² of his theory which placed two alternatives before the world : (i) that the Sātvata prince Kṛṣṇa himself founded the system, or (ii) that he was deified after his death, and a system developed round him. Prof. Jacobi in his learned article³ on ' Incarnation (Indian),' rejects the first alternative as a " scarcely tenable " one, and endorses the second with certain modifications. His arguments and conclusion can be summarised as follows :—

1 Quoted by Jacobi, E. R. E. vol. 7 p. 196, and now published in R. G. B. Works, vol. II, pp. 58-291.

2 Op. cit. p. 193.

3 E. R. E. vol. 7 pp. 193-197.

“ When Nārāyaṇa, Viṣṇu became the supreme deity, the Creator and Lord of the world, he stepped into the place of Prajāpati, the Creator of the period of the Brāhmaṇas, who ascribe to Prajāpati, the Kūrma and Varāha incarnations, and represent him as taking one form or other for some special purpose, and the deeds of Prajāpati were transferred to Nārāyaṇa.

“ The wide-spread worship of Kṛṣṇa, as a tribal hero and demi-god and his subsequent identification with Nārāyaṇa, the supreme Lord of creation in that period, gave birth to the theory of incarnation, not as a philosophical speculation of learned mythologists and theologists, but as the great principle pervading and upholding a popular religion. Kṛṣṇaism, in this sense, prevailed in India probably centuries before the beginning of our era. Compare : Chāndogya Upaniṣad, III. XVII. 6, where Ghorā Āṅgīrasa imparted a particular piece of secret knowledge to Kṛṣṇa, *the son of Devakī*. Here Kṛṣṇa is still regarded as a man and not a god.

“ When the Vedic period drew towards the end, Vāsudeva was considered an equal of Nārāyaṇa and Viṣṇu,— compare, Tait. Āraṇ. X. i. 6, where Vāsudeva is mentioned as a god, together with Nārāyaṇa and Viṣṇu, apparently as mystically identical. Pāṇini regards, (IV. iii. 98) Vāsudeva as a person of the highest rank, probably a god ; but Kṛṣṇa, the son of Devakī was still regarded, in the Vedic period, as a wise man inquiring into the highest truth, and only at some *later time* was he put on an equality with Viṣṇu. Vāsudeva, the god, and Kṛṣṇa, the sage, were *originally* different from one another and only afterwards became, by a syncretism of beliefs, one deity, thus giving rise to, or bringing to perfection, a theory of incarnation.

“ Vāsudeva is called Vāsubhadra (Bhāsa, Dūtavākya V. 6) : compare this with Māṇibhadra, who is spelt Māṇi° in Jainaparakṛita ; compare also Balabhadra, his brother's name : so Vāsudeva derived from ‘ Vāsu° ’ seems to be the original name. If this etymology is right, we must assume that the story of his being the son of a Knight Vasudeva is not true, and the name of his father seems to have been developed from his very name Vāsudeva. In support of this, oldest tradition does not mention Kṛṣṇa's father, but mother, calling him son of Devakī.

"The Mahābhārata and Purāṇas reveal Kṛṣṇa to us as a *man*, certainly not eminently good, but a crafty chief who is not over-scrupulous in his choice of means for accomplishing his ends. Viṣṇu P. IV. 13 undertakes vindication of the character of Kṛṣṇa; Jains assuming nine Vasu°, Vāsu°, Bala°, and Prativāsu°, presuppose the worship of Kṛṣṇa as a very popular religion of India, and hence the *Christian influence* assumed by Weber is excluded by *chronological considerations*."

R. G. Bhandarkar has dealt with this problem with details in his "Vaiṣṇavism and Śaivism etc.":

P. 3-Vāsudeva worship mentioned with others in the Buddhist cannon Niddesa of the 4th century B. C. P. 4.—Inscription at Ghosundi, 200 years B. C. mentions the construction of a wall round the hall of worship of Saṁkarsana and Vāsudeva. P. 5-Patañjali, on the Pāṇini sūtra, saying that Vāsudeva is not a Kṣatriya of the name, but the worshipful one. Pp. 6-11-The Nārāyaṇīya section of the Mahābhārata XII, summarised with the concluding remark:—"It thus appears that a religion of devotion arose in earlier times, but it received a definite shape, when Vāsudeva related the Gītā to Arjuna and led to the formation of an independent sect, where his brother, son, and grandson, were associated with him, as his forms,.....the sect became conterminus with the Sātvatās" P. 13 -The conception of Vasudeva as father must have arisen afterwards, as appears from the example Vāsudeva in the Mahābhāṣya, in the sense of Vāsu°, not Vasu°...Vāsudeva was identified with the Vedic sage Kṛṣṇa, and a geneology given to him in the Vṛṣṇi race, through Śūra and Vasudeva. P. 49-In the Mahābhārata times, the gradual extension of the religion of Sātvatas, is shadowed forth, in some passages questioning the divinity of Kṛṣṇa, while, in Purāṇic times, the three streams of religious thought: (1) from Viṣṇu, the Vedic God, (2) from Nārāyaṇa, the cosmic and philosophic God, and (3) from Vāsudeva, the historical lord, mingled together to form the later Vaiṣṇavism. P. 50-When HV, VyP, and BhP., were written, the legend about the cowherd Kṛṣṇa, must have already been current, and his identification with Vāsudeva Kṛṣṇa, been effected.....story of Vṛṣṇi prince Vāsudeva being brought up in a cow-settlement, is *incongruous* with his

later career, as depicted in the Mahābhārata ; nor does any part of Mahābhārata require the presupposition of such a boyhood. PP. 52-54—The Ābhīras of about the 1st century A. D., a nomadic tribe of cowherds, probably brought with them the worship of the boygod, his humble birth, etc. ; they possibly brought the name of Christ also, which led to the identification of the boy-god with Vāsudeva Kṛṣṇa. The story of Buddhist Ghaṭajāṭaka contains reference to Nanda etc., but this Jātaka seems to be of post-christian times. ”

Prof. Winternitz in his “History of Indian literature” (vol. I) has, at p. 456 :—

“ As regards Kṛṣṇa, described in several places in the Mahābhārata, he is repeatedly scorned by hostile heroes as ‘cowherd’ and ‘slave.’ Even behind the legends of Harivaṁśa, there seems to be a foundation of older legends in which Kṛṣṇa was not yet a god, but the hero of a rough tribe of cowherds. It is difficult to believe that Kṛṣṇa, the friend and counsellor of Pāṇḍavas, the herald of the doctrines of the Bhagavadgītā, the youthful hero and demon-slayer, the favourite and lover of cowherdesses, and finally Kṛṣṇa, the incarnation of god Viṣṇu was *one and the same person*. It is far more likely that there were two or several traditional Kṛṣṇas, who were merged into one deity at a later time. It is possible that Kṛṣṇa was the founder of the Bhāgavata religion, and was ultimately made into an incarnation. It is possible that Kṛṣṇa did not figure at all in the original epic, and was introduced only later, perhaps to justify the actions of Pāṇḍavas : much as has been written on the problem of Kṛṣṇa, we must admit, no satisfactory solution has been found. In any case, it is a far cry, from Kṛṣṇa, friend of Pāṇḍavas, to the Kṛṣṇa of Harivaṁśa, and the exalted God Viṣṇu. ”

3. These scholars and others following these, have laid great stress on the fact of one person having many names, and starting with the idea that one person should have one name only, have analysed the Kṛṣṇa story under so many names attached to so many incidents, taking that each originally concerned one person only, and all were subsequently mixed up to form the great mass

of the Mahābhārata and Purāṇas. The three striking features of this Kṛṣṇa, as at present found mixed up, and separated by the scholars are : (1) Kṛṣṇa as the preacher of the religion of the Bhagavadgītā, (2) Prince Kṛṣṇa, the friend and counsellor of the Pāṇḍavas " not over-scrupulous in his choice of means for accomplishing his ends " (Jacobi, above), and (3) Kṛṣṇa, who grew among cowherds, killed Kāṁsa, and established himself and his kin in Dvārakā, a place which belongs to prince Kṛṣṇa in (2), also.

As the Mahābhārata and the Pūrāṇas are mainly responsible for these accounts of Kṛṣṇa, other literature only incidentally and that too comparatively very rarely, it is proposed, here, to collect and compare the material bearing thereon, as presented in the Mahābhārata and the Pūrāṇas. That some convincing conclusion will be the fruit of these efforts, would, it is feared, be too much to expect, but even if this is sufficient to give a clear view of the whole material, it will have served its purpose. The material itself is vast, and following is, in brief, a statement of the Kṛṣṇa story, with its extent and context, as found in the different Pūrāṇas and the Mahābhārata.

THE PURĀṆAS.

1. Brahma Purāṇa (BP)-Adhs. 179-212 : Vyāsa, having related the importance of Bhāratavarṣa, and Purusakṣetra, is asked by the Ṛṣis to relate about the birth of Baladeva and Kṛṣṇa on this earth. The introductory stanzas at adhy. 180, are in the fashion of those of Mahābhārata at 1. 1. Real story begins from adhyāya 181. (Ānandāśrama edition).

2. Viṣṇu Purāṇa (VP)-Amśa 5, adhs. 1-38 : Maitreya, having heard the genealogy of other kings, asks Parāśara, to tell him about the Amśāvatāra of Viṣṇu, of the Yadu family. The text of BP and VP agrees, according to Wilson, " exactly " but a comparison of the two, shows some additional matter in the VP, which is shown under the respective headings below (edition printed at the Vṛttadīpa Press, by Viṣvanatha Bhaskara Bhagavata; text with commentary Vaiṣṇavākūta candrikā by Śrī Ratnagarbha Bhaṭṭācārya).

3. Padma Purāṇa (PP)-Uttarakhaṇḍa, adhs. 272-379: Rudra, having told the Rāmacarita to his consort Pārvatī, now goes on to relate the life of Kṛṣṇa Vāsudeva. (Ānandāśrama edition 1894).

Hari Vamśa (HV)-Adhs. 51-190: God Viṣṇu is awakened by the gods, from his long sleep, and according to the talk afterwards, when Pāṇḍavas, Kauravas etc., are born, Nārada went to the courts of gods, and there, relating the misdeeds of Kāmsa and others, requested Viṣṇu to come down, to the earth, to remove her burden. Viṣṇu consults Brahmā as to where he should be born, when Brahmā tell about Vasudeva etc., etc., (Calcutta edition).

5. Brhma Vaivarta Purāṇa (BVP)-The whole of the part called 'Śrī Kṛṣṇajanma-Khaṇḍa: Nārada asking Nārāyaṇa regarding Kṛṣṇa' incarnation. Rādhā, being cursed by Śrī Dāmā, friend of Kṛṣṇa, had to become a cowherdess, and for her sake apparently, Kṛṣṇa had to come down. The usual story of the Earth going to heaven for relief, begins from the adh. 4 (an old edition the title page of which is missing).

6. Bhāgavata Purāṇa (BhP)-Skandhas. X, XI: giving a connected life of Kṛṣṇa, as an incarnation of supreme Godhead, related by Śuka to king Parīkṣit, who, after hearing the genealogy of the Lunar and Solar kings, asks to be told the deeds of Viṣṇu's part incarnation, in the Yadu's family (Kumbhakonam edition).

7. Vāyu Purāṇa (VyP) -adh. 96: In course of giving the genealogy of Yadu, from adh. 94, mentions, in this adh. at st. 30 ff. the story of diamond Syamantaka, and brings in Kṛṣṇa and Balarāma, and gives their birth and deeds (Ānandāśram edition).

8. Devī Bhāgavata Purāṇa (DBh)-Skandha IV, adhs. 18-25: Vyāsa and Janamejaya speaking:-latter's question at adh. 17, introduces Kṛṣṇa after Rāma story, beginning with the birth of Vasudeva, who being Kaśyapa himself, cursed by Varuṇa comes to the earth (Lele's edition with Marathi translation).

9. Agni Purāṇa (AP)-adh. 12: Agni describing to Vaśiṣṭha the incarnation of Viṣṇu, from Matsya onwards, comes, after Rāma, to Kṛṣṇa, saying "Harivamśam pravakṣyāmi" I2. 1. (Ānandāśram edition).

10. *Līṅga Purāṇa* (LP)-adh. 60: in the course of giving the *Sātvata* genealogy, comes upon *Kaṁsa* (St. 42); then *Vasudeva* and *Devakī* giving birth to *Kṛṣṇa* (Calcutta edition by *Jivananda Vidyasagara*).

THE *MAHABHĀRATA* (Mbh.): *Kṛṣṇa* story is mixed with that of the *Pāṇḍavas*, all over the Epic; he is introduced here as already grown up, his first appearance being at the *Svayamvara* of *Draupadī*. Reference to his birth from *Vasudeva* in the *Aṁśavataṛaṇa* portion of the *Ādiparvan* (I. 64. 141-146) is likely to be, an after-addition, and forms no part of the original; *Kṛṣṇa*'s previous life, is given, only incidentally in the dialogues of other persons (*Kumbhakonam* edition).

JAINA *HARIVAMŚA PURĀṆA* (JHP):--The *Jainas* also have adopted the Indian epic and *Purāṇic* tales, and there is a *Harivamśa Purāṇa*, composed by *Jinasena* in Śaka 705. This work though mainly intended to describe the deeds of *Neminātha*, one of the *Jaina Tīrthamkaras*, also gives the story of *Kṛṣṇa* and the *Pāṇḍavas*, and although there are many points of difference in the details, the general run of the whole is in agreement with the Indian tradition. (*Sholapur* edition of Hindi translation).

Of the *Purāṇas*, BP seems to have an account older than VP, the latter having many additions to the text of the former. These two and PP, AP, BhP, and BVP devote a special portion to the *Kṛṣṇa* story, while VyP and LP give it, in course of describing the *Yādava* genealogy. AP is only a short summary concluding with *Kṛṣṇa*'s fight with *Bāṇāsura*, and peacefully settling with his wives, and this is the general extent of *Purāṇic* accounts. BVP, meant solely to glorify *Rādhā*, gives greatest prominence to *Kṛṣṇa*'s life as connected with her. HV, although meant to serve as a supplement to Mbh., faithfully goes over the extent of the *Purāṇic* story, and guards against any mixture of the Mbh. account, while BhP is the only *Purāṇa*, which puts in the two accounts, setting them in proper context. DBh finishes the *Kṛṣṇa* story with his penance, in which he gratifies *Śiva*, and obtains boon to have sons, and *Śiva* then gives a prophecy of *Kṛṣṇa*'s life, bringing it to his death.

Except BP and VP which have a common text, all the other accounts have no textual agreement. The influence of Mbh. on the BhP is very great: in addition to its bringing in the Kṛṣṇa story in Mbh. side by side with that in Purāṇas, the story which introduces the Purāṇa itself, refers to the characters in the Mbh., and starts from Aśvathāman's killing Parīkṣit, while yet unborn, and the child's revival by Kṛṣṇa, an incident mentioned at Mbh. XIV. 69. 24-26.

II—KṚṢṆA-STORY IN THE PURĀṆAS.

1. That so many different compositions bearing on the same subject, and ranging from short ones of a few stanzas, to those extending over thousands of stanzas, are found included in the majority of Purāṇas, is, in addition to its proving the vast popularity of Kṛṣṇa, a point that leads us to some other field, —different texts bearing on almost the same details of the story, would suggest that these texts were composed by more than one author, and not by Vyāsa alone, in different provinces of India, at, perhaps, different times -- but rather than dealing here with such matters of a general nature, it is better, just to study the details of the story itself; it is proposed to divide the whole Purāṇic story into *incident-units*, each being arranged as follows :—(1) number and name of the incident. (b) place where it is found in the different Purāṇas, and the Mahābhārata, (c) general description of the incident, (d) a comparison of the details, and (e) other important matter.

Regarding these different sources, it has to be noted that AP in its summary, only mentions the incidents, and in these too, the order of some is not in keeping with the general tradition; while LP and VyP as also the DBh., bring in the Kṛṣṇa story only incidentally, first two in giving the Sātvata genealogy, and the last, to prove that even God Viṣṇu has to submit to the decrees of fate¹. In Mbh. too, the Purāṇic incidents are mentioned only to glorify Kṛṣṇa, while his actual life described in the Epic, mainly as it should, connects itself with the Pāṇḍavas, and forms, as it were, a

1 " Evam nānāvatsretra Viṣṇuḥ ... daivādhīnaḥ sadaiva hi " DBh IV, 20.

went to Brahmā, who took her to Śiva, then the three going to Dharma, and after consulting him, all went to Hari, who advised them to repair to Goloka and request Kṛṣṇa who would do the needful. According to DBh, the Earth went to Indra, who admitted his inability to help her, and took her to Brahmā, who then took them both to God Hari, who, in his turn, explains the superiority of the goddess Devī, and all offer prayers to her. HV describes the death of Kālanemi, with full details, at adh. 48, 49; VP, too, at St. 22, puts in the words of the Earth, that the same demon was born as Kāṁsa, but makes no direct mention of this incident. Viṣṇu, who was sleeping for ages, is, in HV, awakened by Brahmā and sages, at the end of adh. 5I, when Brhamā shows the distressed Earth, and asks Hari to come to mount Meru for consultation. As context to this incident, VP-BP *differing* here—and PP, mention the marriage of Vasudeva, and Devakī, and their subsequent captivity by Kāṁsa, who had learnt of his future death from Devakī's issue, (st. 12 VP, and PP).

In Viśvopākhyāna, at Mbh. VI 65-68, the gods' conference on the mount Meru, is mentioned, where the supreme God comes and is requested by Brahmā, to be born in the family of the Yādavas.

(e) Compared with BP, VP inserts 6 stanzas, in the speech of the Earth, stating that all creation was the different forms of God Viṣṇu.

(a) II. GOD'S PROMISE.

(b) BP 181.29-32; VP 1.33-65; PP 272.18-25; HV 52-56; BVP 4.56-6.278; BhP 1.20-26; VyP—no mention; DBh 18.25-19.47; AP LP—no mention; Mbh 1.65.54-66.1 and VI.66.2.

(c) Going to the abode of the supreme God Viṣṇu, the gods, Brahmā prominent among them, offered prayers, when the God learnt of the trouble, and promised to relieve the Earth of her burden after being born as Kṛṣṇa, son of Vasudeva. He also asked the other gods to go down in various characters, and help his cause.

(d) BP and VP give a text for the prayer by Brahmā, PP only stating that prayer was offered, while BhP says that Brahmā

recited the Puruṣa Sūkta, and had the inspired response from the Sky—without the God appearing personally—and then the word was carried to other gods. In HV, it is Brahmā who gives his advice to Hari in the conference; according to BVP, the matter is finally settled in Goloka, the abode of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa, latter allotting to each god his particular character, and lastly consoling his love Rādhā, for the coming separation of 100 years, which was an outcome of a former love intrigue in Goloka, and during this period, Kṛṣṇa was to perform all his life's work in Mathurā, Dvārakā, etc. In DBh, the gods, under advice of Nārāyaṇa, all offer prayers to the supreme Śakti, and she disposes of the matter, herself promising to appear as a child of Yaśodā, and transfer Viṣṇu to Gokula from his place of captivity as also effect the removal of Śeṣa, from the womb of Devakī to that of Rohinī. This Śakti is in other Purāṇas, referred to as Yogamāyā, whom Hari asks to do these things. BP, VP, DBh also, and Mbh. I. 214. 32, 33, state that the God rooted out two hairs from himself—one black and the other white,—and these entering the wombs of Devakī, and Rohinī appeared as Kṛṣṇa and Rāma respectively. According to Mbh, in the reference in Ādiparvan the God settles the matter with Indra, and, in that in the Bhīṣmaparvan, the God only promised that it will be all right, and disappeared. These three different versions of the same incident show an effort to record all oral traditions, in some connection or another, in the body of the Epic.

(e) VP inserts an additional prayer for Brahmā at 34-50, whereupon Hari asks him to speak his mind, and then VP takes the text common to BP.

(a) III. KṚṢṆA'S BIRTH.

(b) BP 181.32-182.11; VP 1.65-3.7; PP 272.25-38; HV 57-60; BVP 7.1-74; BhP 1.27-3.8; VyP 96.192-202; DBh 20. (1-52, other matter) 53-23-21; AP 12.4-6; LP 69.46 48; Mbh I.64.141.145.

(c) Vasudeva married Devakī; while the ceremony was being performed, Kamsa, the cousin of the bride, was apprised of his future death at the hands of the eighth son of Devakī; he rushed upon her with a drawn sword, but was pacified by Vasudeva, who

promised to hand over his children to Kamsa, as soon as they were born. Kamsa killed six sons, but the seventh time, the child, while still in the womb, was transferred, by divine power, from Devaki to Rohiṇī, another wife of Vasudeva, living elsewhere. This was the boy Saṁkarsana, so called from his being drawn away from Devaki's womb. Kamsa was more watchful at the eighth time, and kept the couple under close custody, and it was thus, in the prison house, that our hero was born.

(d) VP and PP give the marriage and the subsequent compromise between Kamsa and the couple, to have occurred before the Earth's approach to gods (cf. I, above); VyP gives it at stanzas 219-228, as a previous incident to account for Kamsa's cruelty. Kamsa's death is foretold by a word from heaven according to PP 272.7; BVP 7.15; VyP 96.220; by Nārada as shown in BP 181.33; HV 57; VP mentions the first at 1.7 and the second at 1.66, saying that the couple was kept in captivity, upon Kamsa's death being confirmed by Nārada's statement, while BhP and DBh give the heavenly prophecy first, and introduce Nārada, when Kamsa returns to Vasudeva his first child, and there Nārada urges Kamsa to kill all children, as which particular child was the eighth, could not be certain, as the numbers could be counted from any child as the first; this last argument, according to DBh, which also mentions Vasudeva's armed opposition to Kamsa, when the elders intervened and the compromise was settled.

The first six children killed by Kamsa - VyP says that he also killed Vasudeva's ten more sons born of his other wives - are the former sons of Hiranyakaśipu, according to BP, VP, HV and and DBh, of Hiranyākṣa, according to PP; BhP, along with BVP and LP mentions only the death of the six children at 2. 4, but, later on, at 85.47 it gives the Hiranyakaśipu story, when Kṛṣṇa shows his mother her dead sons: the story, that these six 'garbhas' were favoured by Brahmā, and consequently cursed by Hiranya°, occurs in DBh and with more details in HV, where Viṣṇu personally goes to Pātāla to give a dream vision to the six. BhP account in the second context, says that they were six sons of Marici, and having laughed at god Brahmā, ready for a sexual union with his daughter, were born of Hiranya, and afterwards taken to Devaki's womb, by Yogamāya, and killed by Kamsa. It is the

same illusion called Māyā or Nidrā, that, being advised by Viṣṇu, brings about also, the transfer of Balarāma to Rohiṇī's womb, and finally herself taking birth from Yaśodā, to be exchanged for Kṛṣṇa : and as a reward for these acts, she is promised high praise in heaven, Viṣṇu himself repeating the stotra.¹

The killing of the first six, and the disappearance of the seventh² from Devakī's womb, brings us to the birth of the eighth. BP and VP have a praise offered by the gods to the pregnant Devakī, while in BVP and BhP, the prayer is addressed to the God in the womb ; BVP states that Devakī's womb was full of air- ' Vāta ' only, and at the last moment, she fell senseless, when the air escaped, and the God appeared before her ; BhP also mentions the mysterious appearance of the divine form, other Purāṇas state his birth³, DBh giving a curious incident on the occasion : Devakī feeling ashamed asks Vasudeva to turn his face away, while she was delivering ; BVP states that he fetched a learned Brāhmaṇa for consultation, and some female relatives to attend upon his wife.

Kṛṣṇa is described⁴ as, at first, having four hands and all the divine appearance of Viṣṇu ; BVP describes his divine form, but gives him two hands only, and DBh makes him only a " bright child." All Purāṇas state that the elements were extremely pleasant at the birth of Kṛṣṇa : winds blowing auspiciously, the stars shining with lustre etc ; and HV and VyP agree in saying that the time was the " Vijaya Muhūrta. " Mbh gives no details about this birth.

1 So BP and VP ; HV allots a separate adh. 59, calling it ' Āryā stava '

BhP mentions Viṣṇu requesting the Māyā to transfer the seventh child.

2 LP seems to consider Rāma, as the first born : " Jāte Rāme tha nihate ṣaḍ-garbhe cātidakṣiṇe " 69. 46.

3 cf. BVP : " Niṣāsāra ca vāyuś ca ... 173, tatraiva bhagavān Kṛṣṇo ... bahirāvīrabhūva ha 174. BhP : " Devakyā mavirasīt. " BP, VP " jayamāne " PP : " Tasyām jātaḥ. " HV : jātam. " and DBh " Suṣuve. "

4 cf. BP, VP, VyP ' caturbāhuḥ, ' PP, BhP, AP, LP ; caturbhujaḥ ' BVP ; ' dvibhujam muralihastam. ' HV ' Yutam divyair lakṣaṇair ' (doubtful).

(e) VP inserts 12 st. (2. 7-18) in the prayer offered by the gods to Devakī. AP and LP in mentioning this birth, give the removal of the Earth's burden, as a motive¹ :

(a) IV KṚṢṆA'S REMOVAL TO GOKULA.

(b) BP 182. 12-32 ; VP 3. 8-29 ; PP 272. 39-58 : HV 60 ; BVP 7. 75-132 : BhP 3. 9-4. 13 ; VyP 96. 203-210 ; DBh 23. 22-48 ; AP 12. 7-13 ; LP 69. 49-61, Mbh-no reference to these incidents, is found in the Epic, only indirect mention of Kṛṣṇa's deeds is made collectively, in some connection, and these will be considered later on.

(c) Seeing the God in his divine glory, before him, Vasudeva requested him, after prayers, to become an ordinary child, telling him of the fear from Kāṁsa, whereupon, the superhuman turned into a child, and Vasudeva, according to the advice given him, took the child to Gokula, and exchanging it for the daughter of Yaśodā, returned, and placed her with his wife Devakī, when Kāṁsa was informed of the birth of the eighth child. He struck her against a stone, but she escaped his hands, and showing her divine form in the sky, told Kāṁsa that his death, the real eighth child, was in safety elsewhere.

(d) BP and VP give two stanzas for Vasudeva, and two for Devakī, praying the divine form as supreme God ; and being afraid of Kāṁsa, they ask Him to withdraw his divine form with four hands; the Bhagavat tells Devakī that he had been born² of her, as she had prayed for, formerly. It is further stated that while Vasudeva was taking the child to Gokula. at night, the guards were sleeping, influenced by Yoganidrā; the child was protected from the rain by Śeṣa, covering it with his hoods, that the deep river Yamunā became passable with knee-deep water, that on returning after the exchange of children, while Yaśodā was unconscious, the guards heard the crying of the child and informed Kāṁsa. PP omits the words of Devakī and Bhagavat, and adds that Vraja was situated on the bank of the river. HV, BVP, and VyP do not give any details of the incidents on the way ;

1 Cf. AP ; " bhuvo bhārā. atārārtham " 12. 4, LP " Bhūbhāranigrahārthāya " 69. 55, implying a reference (?) to incidents in I, II.

2 " jātoham yat tavodarāt, " BP 182, 18, VP 3. 14.

BhP in the reply of the Bhagavat, gives an account of the former lives of his parents and their hard penance for having him as their child. BP, VP, PP, AP, and LP do not state as to who advised the transfer. HV, BVP, VyP, and BhP do it under advice of Bhagavat; DBh mentioning a message from the sky, this last stating that the exchange of children was made between Vasudeva and a maid servant-Sairandhrī—who stood at the door of Nanda's house, and according to VyP, and LP, Vasudeva did it with the knowledge of Yaśodā, and in addition requested Nanda to protect the child carefully. According to HV and VyP, Vasudeva personally gives the information to Kāṁsa, HV, BVP, and BhP adding a prayer from Devakī to spare the child; HV and VyP states that the girl Ekānamśā (so BVP, also; °daśā in VyP). was worshipped by the Yādavas, as she protected Kṛṣṇa, and BVP states that Kāṁsa returned the daughter to the weeping parents, and she was, during the marriage ceremony of Rukmiṇī, married to sage Durvāsas. DBh refers to a former agreement between Yaśodā and Devakī, regarding the exchange of children.

(a) V. KĀMSA'S SUBSEQUENT MOVE.

(b) BP 182.1-11 ; VP 4.1-17; PP. 272,59-63; HV 60; BVP-no reference; BhP 4.14-46; VyP-no reference; DBh 23.49-53 AP, LP-no reference.

(c) This incident consists of two sub-units: (1) Kāṁsa consults his counsellors, and orders the slaughter of new-born children thereabouts, and (2) confused at the escape of the girl, and the warning of his death, offers apologies to Vasudeva and Devakī, and sets them free.

(d) BP and VP and PP¹ mention death being ordered only in case of children having 'extra-ordinary' strength. BhP interchanges the two incidents, and says that Kāṁsa, after consultation, decides to harass the good people, as that would disturb the peace of God Hari, who was at the bottom of all his trouble. HV mentions only the second incident, and DBh the first, omitting any consulting, and stating that Kāṁsa ordered the wholesale slaughter of children as soon as born².

1 "yatrodriktam balam bāle " BP 182. 7, VP 4, 13; "Samudriktabalān bālān" PP 272. 62.

2 "jātamātrās ca hantavyā " DBh 23. 50.

(e) VP inserts 6 stanzas in Kāṁsa's speech, saying that all gods were powerless before him; BhP puts the same¹ ideas, only in an enlarged form, in the mouth of Kāṁsa's counsellors; BVP inserts another matter after IV: adh. 8-*janmāṣṭamīvrata*, adh. 9-former lives of Nanda and Yaśodā, Vasudeva and his two wives.

(a) VI. VASUDEVA AND NANDA.

(b) BP 183.1-6; VP 5.1-6; PP 272.64-98; HV 61; BhP 5.19-32; no reference in other sources.

(c) In an interview between Vasudeva and Nanda, the former requested the latter to take care of his children.

(d) According to BP, VP and BhP, Nanda, who was full of joy at the birth of a son from Yaśodā, had gone to Mathurā, to pay taxes and there Vasudeva saw him and congratulating him upon the birth of a son, requested Nanda to protect his own son with Rohiṇī, and return to Vraja, as there were some bad omens portending forthcoming trouble. HV follows the same course of details, but states that Nanda had come with Yaśodā and the child, and that Vasudeva advised for a shift of Nanda's place of residence, and Nanda, accordingly, following the course of river Yamunā, established his camp at the foot of the hill Govardhana. PP states, instead, that Vasudeva visited the Vraja, and keeping Rohiṇī's son, under Yaśodā's care, returned to Mathurā.

(a) VII. KṚṢṆA'S BIRTH FESTIVALS.

(b) BP 184. 39, 20 ; VP 6, 8, 9 ; PP 272. 69-74 ; BV no mention: BVP 9. 42ff. and again at adh. 13 ; BhP 5. 1-18 ; DBh. 25. 1-5.

(c) The birth of the child was celebrated with great festivities by Nanda ; the Gopīs paid a visit to Yaśodā, and offered her many presents, and blessed the child with great joy.

(d) BP, VP, PP and BhP, further on at adh. 8. 1-20, mention that Garga, the family priest of the Yādavas, visited Nanda, at the instance of Vasudeva, and there performed the religious ' Jātaka ' rites of the two children ' in secret, ' giving them their respective names. BVP adds a prophecy, of

1 " Kim indreṇālpaviryṇa VP. 4a = BhP 36c.

Kṛṣṇa's life, by the sage Garga, in which the Pāṇḍavas are referred to. DBh states that these festivities were informed to Kāṁsa, by men of his secret service, and Nārada had told him about Nanda, which led to the incidents in VIII, below.

(e) BhP transposes incidents¹ VI and VII.

(a) VIII. KṚṢṆA IN THE COW-SETTLEMENT.

These occupy the life of Kṛṣṇa till his arrival in Mathurā; some of the incidents are mere ordinary accidents, but the Purāṇas make much of these, as would naturally be the case in the life of a great hero. So, with these general remarks, we proceed here to compare and study the details of each incident as it is presented in the Purāṇas. VyP, which gives some stray information about Kṛṣṇa, in the course of giving the genealogy, does not refer to any of these details. LP makes only a general statement¹ that "all the efforts of Kāṁsa, were rendered fruitless by her—meaning the Devī—who had warned Kāṁsa of his death." DBh and AP mention² some incidents, without giving any details thereof. These minor sources, are, therefore, generally ignored, below.

(a) i—PŪTANĀ. □

(b) BP 184. 7-21 ; VP 5. 7-23 ; PP 272. 74-82 ; HV 63 ; BVP 10; BhP 6.

(c) missioned by Kāṁsa, Pūtānā, the death of children, proceeded to Gokula, in an attractive form, and offered the child Kṛṣṇa her breasts for a suck; the child sucked away the life out of her, and she fell dead in her giant form, which put all to fright, when Nanda and others, fearing some evil to the child, performed some magic rites, for its protection.

(d) HV states that she was the nurse—"Dhātrī"—of Kāṁsa, and appeared like a bird-Śakunī; while BVP calls her his dear sister, stating that she arrived as a Brāhmaṇī from Mathurā, and that she was, originally 'Ratnamālā' the daughter of Bali, and had a motherly feeling towards Vāmana, which led to this incident.

1 Yastatpratīkṛtau yatnaḥ, tayā caiva jādīkṛtaḥ, LP 69. 62.

2 DBh 24, 6, 7 ; AP 12. 14-22,

BhP treats this as an independent incident and has a concluding "Phalaśruti" stanza at the end. BP and VP do not mention the agency of Kāṁsa, in this affair. All sources except BVP state that Pūtānā approached the place without the knowledge of others. HV adding that she hid herself under a cart, and PP saying that she had besmeared her breasts with poison. PP and BVP add her cremation by Nanda.

HV does not mention any Raksā magic here, and BVP states¹ only that some auspicious act was performed. This Raksā consisted, according to the remaining sources, of placing the cowdung on the head, moving the tail of a cow over the body and chanting some spells; these last are given in BP, VP, and BhP, this third one having quite a different text, but the general principle seems to be, in both the cases, to refer to some name of Godhead, for protection of some certain part of the body. Many of these names like 'Hṛṣīkeśa, Govinda', are seen applied to Kṛṣṇa himself, while others like 'Viṣṇu, Nārāyaṇa' refer to the supreme God.

(e) VP transposes a stanza and inserts two, in this passage.

(a) ii- ŚAKATA.

(b) BP 184.22-28; VP 6.1-7; PP 272.82-85; HV 62; BVP 12.1-13; BhP 7.1-17.

(c) while Yaśodā was engaged elsewhere, the child was weeping for a suck, and, throwing up its feet, upset the cart, under which it was lying. The noise brought the elders to the scene, where other boys told of the incident. Yaśodā rearranged the upset cart, and did some worshipping.

(d) HV transposes (i) and (ii), while BVP inserts the Raksā Kavaca, in its own text, after this cart incident, stating that it was recited by a Dviija placing his hand on the child.

(e) PP inserts one more incident after this, at 272.86-89 ab: the child killed a Rāksasa² in the form of a cock which had struck him with its palm. PP has some agreement in text here, with that of BP and VP .. BP 23=PP 83 cd, 84 ab.

1 "Maṅgalam kārayāmāsa" BVP 10. 38.

2 "Rāksasaḥ ... kukkuṭaveśadhṛk" PP 272. 87.

Between this (ii) and the following incident (iii), BhP has some additional matter, giving some more incidents; BVP mentioning, only one of them:—BhP 7.18-33; BVP 11 (i.e. *before Śakata*): the child taken away by a whirlwind, was saved. The wind is called Trnāvarta, evidently a demon, and was killed by the child striking him against a stone. BhP 7.34-37; Yaśodā sees the whole creation in the yawning child; 8.1-20: Garga performing the Nāmakaraṇa, referred to above under VII: 21-31; Kṛṣṇa growing up, and playing; 32-45: Kṛṣṇa, charged with eating dust, 'mṛd' opened his mouth before Yaśodā, who saw the whole creation there, and was bewildered. BP and VP, and BhP also, mention Garga's performing the Nāmakaraṇa (cf. VII above) as coming off after this incident [i.e. (ii)].

(a) iii- KṚṢṆA and the MORTAR.

(b) BP 184.31-42; VP 6.10-20; PP 272.89-97; HV 64; BVP 14. BbP 9.10.

(c) Kṛṣṇa and Rāma had now begun to creep on their knees and hands, and wandering here and there, did many small mischiefs. Yaśodā, to prevent Kṛṣṇa from this, bound him to a mortar with a rope, and went to her work. Kṛṣṇa, moving along with the mortar, reached two large trees, Yamala, and Arjuna, and in an effort to move on, felled both to the ground.

(d) PP mentions that¹ Kṛṣṇa stole butter from the neighbours, and that Yaśodā, after binding him, went to sell milk. HV states that Gopīs saw the accident and called back Yaśodā, scolding her for her harshness. BVP differing, says that Kṛṣṇa ate butter, milk etc. while Yaśodā was away to bathe herself, and began to fly, when she knew the fact from other boys. She then bound him to a tree, and beating him, left him there, when Kṛṣṇa, sportively felled the tree, and Nanda and others got angry with Yaśodā for this harshness. BhP has again different details: Kṛṣṇa approached Yaśodā for a suck, while she was churning for butter; she gave him a little, but he was not satisfied, and angrily broke the pot, and fled out. She pursued the child, and bound him to a mortar; the length of all the ropes in the house was

1 "Navanītam jahārāśu" PP 272.90, and "...vikretum gorasādikam" PP 272.91.

not sufficient to bind him, but finally Kṛṣṇa granting the binding and then moving on, brought on the accident. The two trees according to this source, were the sons of Kubera, Nalakūbar Maṇigrīva, followers of Rudra, and were cursed by sage Nārada for their indecent acts. They were promised relief at the hand of Kṛṣṇa, and the God acted accordingly. BVP which refers to only one tree, brings in the first named son only, who was seen naked with Rambhā, by the sage Devala, and subsequently cursed PP in some MSS. only, states that the trees were, after relief turned into *kiṁnaras*. This incident brings to Kṛṣṇa, the synonym Dāmodara.

(e) BP 38ab = PP 92ab ; v. 1. 'Kamalekṣanah' for 'Dharaṇī dharah.' BVP in adh. 15, following this incident, mentions the marriage of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa performed by Brahmā. The situation described here, reminds one of the opening stanza: "Meghair meduram ambaram ..." in Jayadeva's famous poem, 'Gītāgovinda.

(a) iv- THE NEW SETTLEMENT.

(b) BP 184. 42-60 ; VP 6. 21-51 ; PP 272. 97-99 ; HV 65, 66 ; BVP 16. 147-179 ; BhP 11. 21-40.

(c) these accidents frightened all, and so, Nanda, in consultation with his elder neighbours, removed the whole camp to Vṛndāvana, on the bank of the Yamunā, where they began to pass days in peace, the boys sporting among the cattle and playing with their mates.

(d) BP and VP state that although the place, where they had removed, was dry owing to hot-season, it was, as if by magic, turned¹ fresh with new grass, as if in Autumn, also that the children, in course of time, became *seven* years old, when rainy season set in. VP inserts 12 stanzas to describe the sports of the boys in the season. HV mentions the shift to have come out, when the boys had become seven years old²; when Kṛṣṇa spoke to Rāma about shifting to Vṛndāvana, as the present Vraja was full of bustle ;

1 " tatas tatrāti rūkṣeṇi gharṃmakāle dvijottama (VP ' tadā dvija) ' Prāvṛt-kāla ivābhūt ca (VP. ivodbhūtam) navaśaṣṭam samantataḥ " BP 184. 50cd, 51ab ; VP 6. 29.

2 " Tasminneva vrajasthāne *saptavarṣau* babbhūvatuḥ. " HV. 65. 1.

the place was, soon after, attacked by wolves, and this was the immediate cause of the shift. BVP at adh. 17. 1-28 states that Vṛndāvana was built by Viśvakarmā, in a night, and gives a royal description of the place. BhP, previous to describing the shift, devotes some stanzas to the mothers after their sportive children, where we can mark the difference between the ages of the two brothers, Yaśodā calls Kṛṣṇa for a suck of her breast and asks Rāma to take food with Nanda, who was waiting for him.

(e) After this incident, BhP inserts some more, which are not found in some of the other sources: BhP 11.41-45; a daitya in the form of a calf-'vatsa'-killed by Kṛṣṇa: BhP 46-53; PP 272. 100. 101; BVP 16.1-13 (i.e. *before* XIB, vii, and the shift) a huge crane, the demon Baka, caught hold of Kṛṣṇa. in a pond, and was subsequently killed by him. BhP 12, Aghāsura, a young brother of Baka, lying in the form of a huge cobra, on the way, was entered by the mouth, and killed by suffocation, by Kṛṣṇa. BhP 13,14; PP 272,102-128; BVP 20; God Brhmā carried away the cattle and boys; Kṛṣṇa himself took all these forms, and stayed on for a year, without incurring anybody's doubt, when Brahmā returned, and praising Kṛṣṇa for his great power, restored all to him. BhP does not mention rainy season here, but transposes it elsewhere at adh. 20.

With regard to BhP, it has to be noted that this Purāṇa, the most popular one of all, on account of its being given a very high place of authority among all Vaisṇava sects, exists in two distinct Recensions, named, the Śrīdhara and Vijayadhvaja (vij), after the respective commentators; a striking difference can be noted here: stanzas 10, 11 depicting Kṛṣṇa, acting as a fruit-seller, are omitted in Vij; st. 12-20 Yaśodā calling Kṛṣṇa and Rāma back from the riverside, and st. 21-29, Nanda consulting others about the shift, are transposed, inserting a st. after 20, to give Nanda's order of the shift; the next day:—... "śvoto vṛndāvanam yāmo..." and having the same run as Śrīdhara to the end of adh. 11; vij. omits adhs 12, 13, 14 (see contents above) altogether.

(a) v- KĀLIYA, THE SERPENT.

(b) BP 185. 1-56; VP 7. 1-82; PP 272. 128-134; HV 68, 69 BVP 19. 1-169; BhP 15. 47-17. 19.

(c) this great poisonous serpent lived with his numerous mates, in a deep pool of the river Yamunā ; Kṛṣṇa unaccompanied by his brother Rāma, entered the pool, one day, and putting down all the serpent's attacks, totally humbled him down, when the mates, as also the serpent himself, offered prayers to Kṛṣṇa, as the powerful God, when Kālīya was asked to leave the pool and proceed with his family to the sea, where, thenceforth he, his hood marked with foot-prints of Kṛṣṇa, had no cause for fear from Garuḍa, the Eagle. While Kṛṣṇa was fighting with this huge serpent, Nanda and all others had come to the bank, greatly frightened about the boy's safety, and were full of joy to receive him back, safe.

(d) BhP states that the cows, and the boys drank of the water and died ; Kṛṣṇa revived them all, by his sight, and then proceeded to put down the serpent. As the fight proceeded for a long time, the men on the bank grew hopeless about the life of Kṛṣṇa, and began to wail more piteously, when Rāma, according to BP, VP and HV, asked Kṛṣṇa to take compassion on his relations, and ceasing to act an ordinary human being, bring the struggle to an end. BhP states that Rāma kept silent, all along, and when the affection of all was put to test, Kṛṣṇa himself made an end of the fight ; while in BVP, Rāma told Nanda and others to take courage, and impressed upon their minds, the divine powers of Kṛṣṇa. This last and BhP give an account of Kālīya, in which, he, according to the agreement, did not give his share to Garuḍa, and fled, to this pool in the Yamunā, to save himself from the Eagle's wrath ; Garuḍa was prevented from visiting this pool, by a sage, Saubhari, who was practising penance, and was frequently troubled by the Eagle.

(e) VP inserts in this passage, 9 lines, 'Gopīs crying', 12 lines 'Nāgapatnīs offering prayers,' 20 lines, 'serpent offering prayers ;' BhP 17. 20-25, BVP 19. 170 to end, state another incident after this ; while the whole camp was resting at night, a forest-fire broke out, and frightened with death to all. Kṛṣṇa swallowed up the fire, and restored ease among all. BhP transposes the Kālīya and the Dhenuka incident. BP disagreeing with VP and other sources, reads the name as "Kālīya."

(a) vi- DHENUKA, THE ASS.

(b) BP 186. 1-13 ; TP 8. 1-13 ; PP. 272. 135--139 ; HV. 70 ; BVP 22 ; BhP 15.

(c) A palm-grove, was infested by asses, Dhenuka, being their leader. Kṛṣṇa one day attacked the palm-grove, and killed the ass Dhenuka, putting others to flight or death, and thereby giving the cow-boys free access to the grove, and the fruits thereof.

(d) BP, VP, and BVP state that Kṛṣṇa with Rāma and others went to the palm--grove, when the boys requested him to let them have the sweet palm-fruit. In BhP, Kṛṣṇa is first requested by his play-mates, Śrīdāma, Subala, etc., and asked to kill the asses ; while HV states that Kṛṣṇa went of his own accord.

According to HV and BhP it is Rāma who is attacked by, and kills in fight, the ass Dhenuka, and then Kṛṣṇa helped to strike other asses ; in BVP the ass Dhenuka, seeing Kṛṣṇa, prays for death and subsequent relief from that birth. Kṛṣṇa could not kill one who was thus his devotee, but soon after, the ass forgot all and attacked Kṛṣṇa and was ultimately killed. Dhenuka is, here stated to be 'Sāhasika', the son of Bali, cursed by Sage Durvāsas for having disturbed his Yogic peace, by having sexual intercourse with Tilottamā, in the same cave, where the sage was resting.

(e) as stated above, BhP transposes incidents (v) and (vi) while BVP gives this, as coming after Indra festival (see viii below). PP, in one Ms, states this, after the cobra incident, mentioned under iv. BVP continues in the next adh. 23 and 24, the Durvāsas story, saying how he himself was tempted to marry, by the sight of the naked coition, and getting a troublesome wife, cursed her to death, and this sin brought about his defeat in the case of Ambarīṣa (BVP 25).

(a) vii- PRALAMBĀSURA.

(b) BP 187. 1-30 ; VP 9. 1-30 ; PP 272. 140-143 ; HV71 ; BVP 16. 14-19 ; BhP 18. 17-32.

(c) disguised as a Gopa, this demon, took part in the play of the boys, and taking Rāma on his shoulders, bore him far away, where he was killed by Rāma.

(d) the play was to be played in pairs, and the winner was to be borne by the defeated, as far as the Bhāṇḍīra tree. According to BhP, Kṛṣṇa being defeated, bore his friend Sudāmā, while other sources state the reverse. BP, VP, and HV state that Balarāma, while being taken away, began to cry to Kṛṣṇa, who reminded him of his powers, and encouraged him with words, when he killed the demon with a stroke of his fist. While BhP states¹ that this was done without the encouragement from Kṛṣṇa. BVP mentions the name Pralamba, but brings him as a bull, while, according to other sources, the bull is the asura Ariṣṭa (vide x below), and gives this bull incident, after Baka (see iv above).

(e) VP inserts 7 stanzas, in the speech of Kṛṣṇa addressed to Rāma, one, at the beginning to give the context of the Dhenuka incident, and transposes a line, elsewhere. BhP inserts, a description of the Grīṣma season in 16 stanzas, before giving this incident, and states that the season was enjoyed like Vasanta, by all, BP 11 = HV 3745.

BhP has additional matter after this incident:—adh. 19; Gopas saved from fire by Kṛṣṇa, in Muñja forest, adh. 20 a description of the seasons Varsā and Śarad; a description of 'Prāvṛṣ,' the rainy season, occurs in BP and VP, as subsequent to the shift (vide iv above), and these sources, state here, that the rains were over, and Śarad had set in—adh. 21—Gopis attracted by Kṛṣṇa's flute, sing his praise. BhP adh. 22; BVP 27—the 'Katyāyanī vrata,' in which young girls, wishing Kṛṣṇa for their spouse, went to the river, and leaving their garments on the banks, bathed naked. Kṛṣṇa, following, took the garments away, and after teasing them a little, favoured them; BVP adding² that he promised them full play in the 'Rāsa' dance,

1 Cf. "...Haladhara iṣad atrasat," 27, Athāgatasmtiḥ...BhP 18.28.

2 "Triṣu māśeṣvatīteṣu yūyam kṛiḍām mayā saba...vṛndāraṇye kariṣyatha' BVP 27.234.

that was to come shortly, after 3 months. BhP adh. 23 ; BVP 18. 1-74 (i. e. before (V) Kāliya)-Gopas were hungry, so Kṛṣṇa advised them to go to a sacrificial place nearby, and beg for food. The boys were refused any. by the Brāhmaṇas, but were offered the same by the wives of the priests. In BhP, the Gopas returned to Kṛṣṇa, after the first refusal, and afterwards the ladies coming to see Kṛṣṇa, with food, are asked by him to return to their husbands, who too, repent, after learning from their wives, but could not personally go to see Kṛṣṇa, 'for fear of Kamsa'; BVP states that the boys, of their own accord, approached the ladies, who on hearing that Kṛṣṇa and Rāma were nearby, went to see them, where the god Kṛṣṇa, on being prayed, sent them all to his Goloka, and by his power of illusion, let their shades-"chāyās"-go back to their husbands, who repented for their negligence. Then, at st. 75 to end, is given an account of how "Agni," in former times, was tempted, by their beauty, to touch the wives of the seven sages, when the sage, Aṅgirā, cursed the Fire to be all devourer, and the ladies, to be born on the Earth, and to return after seeing Kṛṣṇa.

(a) viii- INDRA FESTIVAL.

(b) BP 187.31-188.49 ; VP 10.1-12 56 ; PP 272.181-217 ; HV 72-76 ; BVP 21 (i. e. before Dhenuka vi) ; BhP 24-27.

(c) Nanda, with his people, used to celebrate, every year, at the beginning of winter, festivals in honour of Indra, who showered rains, and gave them and their cattle means of living. Kṛṣṇa objected to this custom, and advised, instead, the worship of hill Govardhana, which actually offered fooding to their cattle. Nanda consented, and the festivities were done in honour of the hill. Indra got angry, at this, and showered heavy rains on the place, when Kṛṣṇa lifted the hill itself, and provided shelter for his men and cattle. Indra thus defeated, came, and prayed Kṛṣṇa for forgiveness.

(d) BP, VP and HV call this festival ' Śākramaha ' while BhP calls it " Indrayāga. " PP mentions,² and HV implies³, that

1 "...Kamsād bhītā na cācalan" BhP 23.52.

2 "...Saptarātram nirantaram" PP 272.183.

3 "...Saptarātre tu nirvṛtte....." HV 75.3956.

it rained continuously for seven nights. According to BVP, Nanda began to pray to Indra, when it began to rain heavily, when Kṛṣṇa got angry and told Nanda that he was all powerful, and able to burn even Indra ; all the powers of the latter were rendered futile, when he had to surrender himself to Kṛṣṇa. The adh. ends with a prayer from Nanda, where he prays Kṛṣṇa as the supreme God. The same idea occurs in BhP adh. 26, where the Gopas wondering at the superhuman powers of the child Kṛṣṇa, are told by Nanda that he knew from Garga, that led him to think, that Kṛṣṇa was an incarnation of Nārāyaṇa.¹ After peace was restored, Indra, according to BP, VP, HV, came down on his elephant Airāvata, and saw Kṛṣṇa on the Govardhana hill. PP does not mention any place, while BhP states that the interview was secret, and Indra was accompanied by the heavenly cow Surabhi. BVP says that, as soon as Indra was made powerless, he fainted² and then had a vision of the all pervading Kṛṣṇa, whom he subsequently prayed to. In BP, VP, supported by HV, in an enlarged form, Indra requests Kṛṣṇa to help Arjuna, and Kṛṣṇa readily promises to help him. Indra's prayer in PP, is framed after the fashion of the famous creation hymn in Rgveda. "Hiraṇyagarbhah...etc." The refrain of the hymn, "Kasmai devāya haviṣā vidhema" is put in this prayer as "Tasmai devāya bhavate vidhema haviṣā vayam."

(e) VP inserts 19 stanzas, in all, in the course of this passage; the largest insertion being one of 14 stanzas, adding a description of the Śarad season, others being, one of 3 st. stating the power of the mountains, and another of 2 st. describing the heavy showers. BP 187.34 ab = HV 72.3789. BP 188.1 = HV 75.3893. HV states that two months had passed since the Pralamba incident, when the festival set in. PP transposes incidents (viii) and (ix), while BhP has additional matter between these two incidents : adh. 28. 1-9 Nanda, bathing in the river, was taken away by Varuna's servants, and afterwards released by Kṛṣṇa ; st. 10-17 : Gopas, on hearing this incident, wished to see, and were shown by Kṛṣṇa, his own world, the Vaikuṇṭha.

1 "Manye Nārāyaṇasyāṁśam..." 1 BhP 26.23.

2 "Kṛiṇā jṛmbhitaḥ śakraḥ sadyas tandrām avāpa ca" BVP 21.170,

(a) 1x- RĀSAKRIDĀ (the dance with Gopīs).

(b) BP 189, 1-45; VP 13; PP 272. 158-180 (i. e. after x) and (xi b below); HV 77; BVP 28-53; BhP 29-33.

(c) On a clear moonlit-night, Kṛṣṇa went to the grove of trees, where his sweet music drew all the young girls towards him; they were enraptured to see him alone, there, and many kissed him, with great passion in their heart. Kṛṣṇa then had a beautiful Rāsa—a dance—in which all his friends partook; the girls thus used to visit him at night time, though they were prevented from doing so, by the men of their houses.

(d) BP, VP, and HV, insert before this, a talk between Kṛṣṇa and his friends, where the latter are wondering whether he is a God or some supernatural being, Kṛṣṇa asking them to take him as he was. After the Gopīs had crowded round him, Kṛṣṇa abruptly disappeared, when they sought after him; and after his return, the dance came off, where Kṛṣṇa alone danced with all. HV omits the dance, and states that the Gopīs were mad after Kṛṣṇa, trying to touch his limbs with theirs, and do all such acts of passion. PP mentions actual sexual intercourse, and questioned by Pārvatī, Rudra justifies Kṛṣṇa's amours by stating that the whole world was the God's body and there was thus no fault, with Kṛṣṇa. It also gives a story of old that the sages of the forest Dandaka wishing for a "sexual union with Rāma, were born as Gopīs and satisfied by Kṛṣṇa; BhP follows the details of BP, omitting only the talk between Kṛṣṇa and his friends, while BVP which is mainly meant to glorify Rādhā, is now in its real element, and devote a great portion to describing the amorous sports of Kṛṣṇa with Rādhā and with other girls. Having, at adh. 28, enjoyed all the girls, he leaves them in adh. 29, and goes with Rādhā alone. Adh. 30 is devoted to the story of Astāvakra; adh. 31-51 to talk between Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā, after which the two return at adh. 52 where it is stated that the sports went on for one month, and this brings the boyhood of Kṛṣṇa to an end: "uktam kiśoracaritam..." BVP 53. 53.

(e) BP 199. 6, 42=HV 77. 4071,4087 respectively. (v. 1. in HV) "Mṛṣayante" for 'ramayanti'; while VP inserts 17 stanzas: One

passage of 11 stanzas, giving the different marks of Kṛṣṇa, which the girls are tracing, to find him out; this piece being substituted for one st. of BP. Other insertions are: one of 2 st. 'Gopis thinking of Kṛṣṇa and second of 4 St. 'Gopis acting Kṛṣṇa'. The nature of additional matter in VP will thus be clear. A comparison of the total of adhs. and stanzas in VP and BP, for this story as a whole shows an excess of 6 adhs. and 153 stanzas in VP.

(a) x--ARISTA, THE BULL.

(b) BP 189. 46-58; VP 14; PP 272. 144-149 ab; HV 78; BVP 16. 14-19; BhP 36. 1-15.

(c) One evening, a Bull--an Asura named Arista--came and attacked the cow-shed, the boys and girls being frightened, ran to Kṛṣṇa, who fought with it, and killed it.

(d) BP and VP states that Kṛṣṇa, was, at this time, engaged in dancing (Rāsāsakte), HV saying that he was amorously sporting, (Ratiparāyaṇe) while according to PP, he was playing with the girls, some childish games. HV, which has whole stanzas agreeing with BP text, seems to have a different reading, here. BhP does not give any clue to say how Kṛṣṇa was engaged. While all other sources agree, in saying that the bull was killed with a horn, rooted out from its head, PP states that it was killed with a palm tree, struck between its horns. For BVP, see above, under (vii), where the bull is named Pralamba.

(e) BP. 189. 46=HV 78. 4099; BPT 56cd, 57=HV 4118, 4119ab. (with some v. I.).

BhP inserts between the incidents (ix) and (x) adhs 34: Nanda relieved from the grasp of a serpent by Kṛṣṇa; Śaṅkhacūḍa, a follower of Kubera, tried to take away some of the girls, when they cried for help and Kṛṣṇa killed him. 35: Gopis singing in praise of Kṛṣṇa, while he was away,

(a) xi--KAMSA ON THE ALERT.

Except in the case of Pūtānā, where she is shown to be an emissary of Kamsa, all other attacks against Kṛṣṇa, come as accidents; at least, Kamsa's agency in bringing these about, is not mentioned. But we now come to a point where Kamsa is

directly concerned. Owing to the peculiar arrangement of the text, this incident has to be divided into three sub-units ;—(A) Akrūra on the mission, (B) Keśi, the horse, and (C) with Akrūra to Mathurā. Last is, in fact, a continuation of the first, and the horse incident, has practically no bearing on Akrūra's mission: but the majority of sources, insert the incident (B), as shown here, and only some, as will be shown below, point it in proper context ; so we follow the course generally accepted.

(A) AKRŪRA ON THE MISSION.

(b) BP 190. 1-21 : VP 15. 1-24 ; PP. 272. 217^{cd}-230 ; HV 79, 80 ; BVP 63-65, BhP 36. 16-34; DBh 24. 1-9.

(c) when Kṛṣṇa had performed the feats, as described above, Nārada came to Kāṁsa and told him of the birth of Kṛṣṇa, and his life among the cowherds. Kāṁsa, thereupon, thinking of his own safety, asked Akrūra, Dānapati, Master of charities, to go to Gokula, and fetch the boys Rāma and Kṛṣṇa. for the festivities of Dhanuryāga, that were going to be celebrated shortly.

(d) According to HV, the interview between Kāṁsa and Nārada comes off in the Khaṭvāṅga grove, and then he called off a full court, where he upbraids Vasudeva for having deceived him, and then sends Akrūra on the mission. In BP and VP, Kāṁsa says to Akrūra, that he would kill all Yādavas, except Akrūra, who was his friend. In BVP, Kāṁsa consults purohita Satyaka, a disciple of Śukra, telling, him of the bad dreams that haunted him. Satyaka advises Akrūra, Uddhava or Vasudeva to be sent to Nandavraja. Last person refused, when Kāṁsa went to kill him with a sword, but was kept away by others, and Akrūra was sent away. While according to BhP, Kāṁsa first orders arrangements for the festival and then sends away Akrūra who replies to the boasts of Kāṁsa, that Fate was final in all matters, DBh says that Kāṁsa was informed of the festivities in Gokula, and his doubts were confirmed by Nārada, so he sent for the boys to be killed under pretext of the Dhanuryāga.

(e) Vij. after Kāṁsa's orders for the festival, inserts a passage of 32 stanzas, where he tells his Mahāmātra of his illicit birth, and consequent hatred for all Yādavas. BVP devotes

adhs. 66-69 to Kṛṣṇa's amors with Rādhā when he is called back by Brahmā.

(B) KEŚI, THE HORSE.

(b) BP 190. 22-48 ; VP 16. 1-28 ; PP. 149-157 ; HV 81 ; BVP 16. 20-74 ; BhP 37. 1-25.

(c) Keśi, a demon in the form of a horse, frightened the people of Gokula, when Kṛṣṇa attacked him, and putting his hand in the horse's mouth, drew away the teeth, and tore him in two, which felled him to the ground, dead. At this time, Nārada came to see Kṛṣṇa and told him that the horse was very powerful, and his death gave him the name Keśava ; Nārada then left Kṛṣṇa, promising to see him again the next day at the festive occasion in Mathurā.

(d) HV states that Kaiśa sent for Keśi, and gave him the mission of killing Kṛṣṇa, while, further on, the Gopas tell Kṛṣṇa¹ that he was a brother (?) of Kamsa, and dear to him as life ; BP, VP, and BhP state only that he was sent by Kamsa : ' Kamsa-dūtaḥ pracoditaḥ ' BP, VP ; ' Kamsaprahitaḥ ' BhP ; PP states that Kṛṣṇa killed the horse with a stroke of his fist, on its head. The interview between Kṛṣṇa and Nārada is not found in PP and BVP, while HV states² that the sage was speaking from the sky, unseen. DBh mentions³ the death of Keśi, without any details, as having saddened Kamsa.

(e) The order of incidents here, is different in PP, and BVP as compared with other sources : PP has, Arisṭa, Keśi, Rāsa dance, Indra festival, and Akrūra's despatch ; while BVP places ' Baka, the crane, Pralamba, the bull, and Keśi, ' before the shift of Gokula settlement, adding that these three and one other, Vasudeva, were gandharvas, devotees of Kṛṣṇa, who took lotuses from the reserved pond of Pārvati for worship, and were, according to the punishment laid down, turned into demons, but restored to their former life by the sight of Kṛṣṇa. BhP inserts, after this,

1 " Eṣa Kamsasya sahaajāḥ prāṇās tasya bahiṣcarāḥ." HV 81. 4294.

2 " Athāhāntarhito vipro Nāradaḥ khagamo munīḥ." HV 81. 4331.

3 " Tathā vinihataḥ Keśi jñātvā Kamsotidurmanāḥ." DBh 24. 8.

one-other incident : 37. 26-33, where Vyoma a son of Maya, disguised as a cow-boy takes away the Gopas, who are then relieved by Kṛṣṇa.

(C) WITH AKRŪRA TO MATHURĀ.

(b) BP 191. 191. 1-192. 67 ; VP 17. 1-19. 9 ; PP 272. 231-330 ; HV 82-34 ; BVP 70. 1-72. 14 ; BhP 31. 1-41. 6.

(c) Akrūra reached Gokula in the evening, where he saw Kṛṣṇa with other boys and cattle. He was greatly pleased to see the God incarnate and approaching humbled himself before Kṛṣṇa, who received him with great respect, and took him home to Nanda, where Akrūra, after refreshing himself, delivered his message, asking the cowherds to attend with milk and other presents for the festival, and accordingly, having rested at night, he left in the morning with the boys in his chariot. They reached Yamunā, where, while bathing in the waters, Akrūra had a divine vision of the god whom he prayed devotedly ; on reaching Mathurā, the boys, as they wished, were left alone, and Akrūra returned home.

(d) According to PP, Akrūra here tells Nanda, the secret of Kṛṣṇa's birth, how the girl flying from Kamsa's hands, told him of his approaching death, and how this led Kamsa to send his agents, who were killed by Kṛṣṇa, and how even the present occasion was intended to do away with Kṛṣṇa. This news frightened Nanda and others, who were then addressed by Kṛṣṇa, who told them that he would kill Kamsa. In HV, Akrūra exhorts Kṛṣṇa on behalf of Devakī and Vasudeva, whom he should see, as was his duty to relieve them from the pain of separation. All the above sources, except HV, state that the girls of the place were sorry at the approaching separation and afraid that Kṛṣṇa would not return, wanted to oppose Akrūra, while according to BVP, they do it actually, and break down the chariot of Akrūra, who is soon relieved by Kṛṣṇa. PP says that Akrūra rubbed the feet of Kṛṣṇa, while he was sleeping at night. HV states that Akrūra took the boys to his house in Mathurā and asked them not to see their parents, as it would displease Kamsa ; Kṛṣṇa replied that they would go seeing the city and do it without anyone's know-

ing it. DBh makes a brief story of the life of Kṛṣṇa, without entering into any details. HV contains a very beautiful description of the evening and morning, in this passage.

This brings the main unit VIII : 'Kṛṣṇa in the cow-settlement,' with its (xi) subunits, to an end. All these eleven incidents cannot be attributed to Kāṁsa's agency, and 'Indra festival ' and the moonlight dance ' as also the 'Kāliya' have nothing to do with Kāṁsa, so we have to take the unit VIII as denoting a period, instead of a single incident.

IX. KṚṢṆA, THE DEATH OF KĀṂSA.

(b) BP 192. 194. 17 ; VP 19. 10-21 17 ; PP 272. 331-293 ; HV 84-89 ; BVP 12. 15-115 ; BhP 41. 7-45. 23.

(c) Kṛṣṇa's arrival in Mathurā, and the subsequent death of Kāṁsa, is here treated as one whole incident, which can be arranged in the following order of minor ones :—

(1) Kāṁsa's washerman killed by Kṛṣṇa, because he would not give his clothes to the brothers.

(2) The flower-merchant, impressed by the boys, offered them flowers, and got their blessings in return.

(3) Haunch-back maid- ' Kubjā '—offered sandalpaste to Kṛṣṇa, and was made straight right by him, who also promised to visit her house.

(4) The two brothers visited the armoury, where Kṛṣṇa broke a great bow, put down the watchmen that came to oppose him, and left the place.

These are the incidents of the evening that saw the boys in Mathurā. No complete agreement exists as to their place of sojourn at night. Kāṁsa learnt of these mischiefs, and determined to bring about the end of the boys, somehow or other, ordered his wrestlers Cāṇūra and Muṣṭika to kill the boys, in course of the dual, also arranged that his mad elephant ' Kuvalayāpīḍa ' should be kept, at the entrance, ready to attack the boys, and then awaited sunrise, keeping awake the whole night anxiously.

Next morning, when the whole of the place was full of spectators, Kṛṣṇa and Rāma entered the arena, after killing the

elephant, and while the spectators were looking on in wonder, Kṛṣṇa fought Cāpura and Rāma with Mustika ; after the death of the two wrestlers, Kṛṣṇa fought another Tośalaka, and when this too met his death, others fled away in fright, whereupon Kāṁsa, mad at seeing all his plans failed, ordered all the Yādavas, and the boys to be made captives ; Kṛṣṇa ran to Kāṁsa and pulling him down from his seat, killed him ; while Kāṁsa was being dragged to death, his guard Sunāma, ran to defend him, but was despatched by Rāma.

The brothers, then saw their parents and bowed to them in reverence, Vasudeva and Devakī glad at their reunion with the boys, fondly welcomed Kṛṣṇa and Balarāma.

Kṛṣṇa then reestablished Ugrasena on the throne, and restored peace to all the people of Mathurā.

(d) HV give, ' Gunaka, ' and BhP ' Sudāma, ' as the name of the flower-merchant. BVP, which devotes some stanzas to describe the city, saying that it was done by Viśvakarmā, changes the order of incidents, and starts with Kubjā, who is described¹ as ' extremely old, ' and made young and beautiful by the mere sight of Kṛṣṇa² ; after her comes the Mālākāra, and then the Rājaka, who refers to his amorous sport in Vṛandāvana. HV gives here, the talk between Kāṁsa and his Mahāmātra, giving a story of the former's birth, which BhP transposes, and places before the mission was entrusted to Akrūra. PP states that Kṛṣṇa stayed for the night in the sacrificial hall, with his followers ; according to BVP, Nanda, Kṛṣṇa and others stayed with Kuvinda, a Vaisnava of the city, whence, when all others were asleep, Kṛṣṇa visited Kubjā, in secret, and telling her that she was the former Śūrpanakhā, gave her sexual satisfaction. BhP states³ that the brothers returned to their camp, a place probably outside the city, where Nanda and other cowherds, had kept the carts for the night.

HV states that Kāṁsa was dressed in white, for the occasion of the festival. BVP gives the breaking of the bow as an inci-

1. "...Vṛddhām ati Jarātūrām ..." BVP 72.16.

2. "Śrī Kṛṣṇaḍṛṣṭimātreṇa...Yathā dvādaśavarṣīyā..." opp. cit 72.22.

3. "...Purāt Śakaṭamīyatuh," BHP 42.23.

dent of the morning. The description of the wrestling match in HV 87 4716-21, compares well with that in Mbh IV.13.27-31 abcd describing the fight between Bhīma and Jīmūta; in fact, the *text* of these times is the *same* in both the places. BhP adds Kūta and Śāla to the list of wrestlers, saying that the first was disposed of by Rāma, and the second by Kṛṣṇa. It also states¹ that Kaiṁsa had eight brothers, 'Kaṁka, Nyagrodhaka' etc. who were despatched by Rāma with his weapon parigha, after Kaiṁsa was killed. According to PP², Kaiṁsa was sitting on the top of his palace, whence he was thrown down by Kṛṣṇa, while others state that Kaiṁsa was dragged by his hair, from his seat, and killed by Kṛṣṇa; while BVP states that Kṛṣṇa did this 'as in sport'. BP and VP give the prayer by Vasudeva addressed to Kṛṣṇa as God. BhP mentions that Kṛṣṇa used his Māyā to make his parents forget his real form, others stating that the boys saw their parents and were embraced by them with great affection.

(e) In the aftermath PP states that Nanda and other cow-herds were sent back with presents, while BVP gives a long discourse at adh.73-90, wherein Nanda is consoled by Kṛṣṇa with various stories, discussion on Dharma, and Adharma, dreams etc. and after this. Uddhava is sent to Gokula to solace Yaśodā, Rādhā and others, Nanda staying on with Kṛṣṇa⁴. Adhs. 92-97 are allotted to Uddhava's mission to Gokula, where he promises Rādhā to send back Kṛṣṇa, which on his return to Mathurā, he reports duly, at adh. 98, when Kṛṣṇa says that he could not fulfil the promise, still he would pay the visit, in a dream, as he did.⁵ HV gives the wailing of Kaiṁsa's wives at adh.88, and in the next, Ugrasena offers the throne to Kṛṣṇa, which he humbly refuses, and crowns Ugrasena. BhP gives some stanzas in which Kṛṣṇa consoles Nanda and sends him to Gokula, promising,⁶ to pay them a visit, which promise, however, curiously enough, is not fulfilled.

1. "Tasyānujā bhrātaroṣṭau...1...40; tāṁstu saṁyattān Rohiṇisutaḥ | Ahan parigham udyamya..." BhP 44.

2. Apātayat dharāprṣṭhe prāsādaśikharād Hariḥ PP 272,380.

3. Ākṛṣya mañcakāt Kaiṁsaṁ jaghāna līlayā mune" BVP 72.93.

4. Op. cit adh. 91.

5. Hariḥ jagāma svapne ca Gokulaṁ virahākulam. Op. cit 98.42.

6. Jñātīn vo draṣṭum eṣyāmo vidhūya suhṛdām sukham BhP 45,23.

(a) X. SĀM̐DIPANĪ, THE TUTOR.

(b) BP 194.18-22; VP 81.18-31; PP 273.1-5; HV 90; BVP 99-102; BhP 45.26-50.

(c) Rāma and Kṛṣṇa then approached Kāśya Sāmdīpanī of the city of Avantī, and learnt from him the science of archery. As fees, Kṛṣṇa brought back to life the tutor's son, long dead at sea, and gave him great pleasure. The child was taken by Pāñcajanya, a demon living in a conch at sea; Kṛṣṇa killed the demon, getting for himself the conch known afterwards as Pāñcajanya, and bringing back the son, the brothers then returned to Mathurā.

(d) Upanayana of the boys, essential for one to make 'twice-born' is mentioned in PP, BVP and BhP, 'where Garga initiated them into the sacred Gāyatrī. HV states that Kṛṣṇa was, by now, become young : 'Prāptayauvanadehaḥ.' BP, VP, HV and BhP mention the period of study as 64 days, while BVP gives it as one month, and omits any reference to the revival of the tutor's son, stating¹ that it was Sāmdīpanī, who initiated the boys in the sacred Gāyatrī, and that among the persons who attended the ceremony, were, besides, heavenly gods, Nanda and Yaśodā, and the widow Kuntī with her sons.

(e) DBh 24.15 states that after their return from their tutor the boys were 12 years' old. After this incident BhP at adh. 46,47, inserts Uddhava's mission in Gokula, which BVP places before (vide IX c. above), and at the next two adhs. (48,49), Kṛṣṇa, after visiting the haunchback maid, sends Akrūra to get news of the Pāṇḍavās, which news discloses the ill-will of Dhṛtarāṣṭra towards his nephews. This is, of course, an effort to set the life of Kṛṣṇa, in the MBh context, a feature found only in this Purāṇa.

(a) XI. JARĀSĀMDHA, THE LORD OF MAGADHA.

This incident, giving (i) the repeated attacks of this powerful king, on Mathurā, includes, also, (ii) the struggle with and the death of Kālayavana ; notes are accordingly divided into two parts, below.

1. "Gāyatrīm ca dadau tābhyām munih Sāmdīpanistathā" BVP 101-14.

(b)-(i) BP 195; VP 22; PP 273.6.33; HV 91-99; BVP mere reference in one line;—"Vijitya ca jarāsaṁdham nihatya yavanam tathā" 103.13; BhP 50.1-43, 52.6-14.

(ji)-BP 196.1-197.7; VP 23.1-24.7; PP 273.33-70; HV (100-109, re. other incidents, see below) 110-116; BVP mere reference ; BhP 50.44-52.5.

(c)-(i)-Jarāsaṁdha, the father-in-law of Kaiṁsa, laid siege to the city of Mathurā, with a large army, 23 Akṣauhiṇīs strong, but Kṛṣṇa and Rāma, armed with their divine weapons, completely defeated Jarāsaṁdha, and put him to flight, this attack and defeat was repeated 18 times.

(ii) Kālayavana, another powerful king, then attacked Mathurā, Kṛṣṇa tired of these frequent troubles, secretly removed all the people of the city to Dvārakā, and then singlehanded, began to fly, pursued by the Yavana king; Kṛṣṇa entered a cave where Mucakunda, of the solar race of kings, was sleeping soundly. Having had a boon from the gods above, that whoever disturbed the warrior in his sleep, would be burnt down the moment his eyes were cast open the victim; Kṛṣṇa hid himself behind this sleeping warrior, and Yavana following, thought the sleeping person to be no other than Kṛṣṇa himself and kicked Mucakunda, who awaking, looked at the offender, who was immediately turned to ashes. Kṛṣṇa then reconciled himself with Mucakunda and left for Dvārakā.

(d)-(i) PP gives the army of Jarāsaṁdha, as '100 Ākṣauhiṇīs strong, HV giving this number as 20, which was destroyed by Kṛṣṇa alone. HV 91 and BhP, in the Vij. Recn. gives a list of kings in the army of Jarāsaṁdha, HV mentioning Duryodhana and other sons of Dhṛtarāstra among them. These two sources describe the siege laid at the four gates of Mathurā, as also the details of the fight at these gates. BhP, Vij. Recn., in the inserted adhs. here, states that Jarāsaṁdha returned after three months, having had help from the Asura Bāna, and was defeated, thus, for 17 times and last time, the instigation to Kālayavana, by Jarāsaṁdha, is mentioned in HV, PP ; and BhP states that Kāla. was instigated by Nārada, and seeing the attack on one side by this Kāla, and on the other, by Jarāsaṁdha, Kṛṣṇa removed his

people to Dvārakā. According to HV and BhP vij. Kṛṣṇa betakes himself with Rāma, to the hill Gomanta, where he is pursued by Jarāsaṁdha, who set fire to the hill and returned satisfied that Kṛṣṇa was dead in the fire. This last, as in BhP Vij. while HV states that Kṛṣṇa suppressed the hill, in the seawaters by forcing his feet, and then both the brothers sprang in the army of Jarāsaṁdha, and defeated it. Those two sources HV and BhP also mention the defeat and death of Śṛgāla Vāsudeva of Karavirapura, by the brothers, on their way to the hill. BVP gives this last incident of Śṛgāla, at its adh. 121, where he challenged Kṛṣṇa, and was killed, adding that he was Subhadra, a door-keeper of the God, cursed by Lakṣmī.

BP, VP and HV give a story of the birth of Kālayavana from the sage Garga, who was once insulted by some one calling him, an eunuch, which sent the sage to penance in the forests. and his subsequent entertainment by a childless Yavana king; the latter's wife, being united with Garga, brought out this Kāla. HV, at adhs. 111, 112 gives the mission sent by Jarāsaṁdha, through Śālva. asking the Yavana king to attack Mathurā, which he agrees to, and adh. 113 being allotted to the reception of Kṛṣṇa in Mathurā, the shifting to Dvārakā comes off in the next adhyāya, so that, at adh. 116, HV reverts to the birthstory of Kāla. where Nārada points to him the Yādavas as fit to be fought with, and, in answer to Kṛṣṇa's challenge of a serpent sent in a jar, the Yavana kills it by ants. According to BP, VP and PP, Kṛṣṇa asked 12 yojanas (30 in PP) of land, from the sea, and there built the city. HV (adh. 113) states that Garuḍa found out the place : DBh agreeing with HV, adds that Kṛṣṇa afterwards reformed the old city : " Śilpibhiḥ kārayāmāsa jīṇoddhāram. " 24. 31. While BVP, at adh. 103 asks for 100 yojanas of land from the sea and gives instructions to Viśvakarman to build the city in the most gorgeous style, without using any wood material—Kuru kāsthā vinā Purīm 103. 68 '' ; next adh. 104 describes the unwillingness of Ugrasena to leave Mathurā, the place of his forefathers, his being persuaded by Kṛṣṇa to shift. The incident about the solar king Mucakunda burning Kālayavana, being thus altogether omitted from this source. HV too, gives at

adh. 116, the building of Dvārakā by Viśvakarman, mentioning the hall Sudharmā for holding the court, which hall, by the bye, was, according to BP and VP, ordered for, by Kṛṣṇa, from Indra through Vāyu, the incident being mentioned as coming off immediately after Ugrasena's establishment to the throne of Mathurā,- PP 274. 8, and BhP 50. 55, refer to Indra's voluntarily giving the hall, latter source having stated, at 50, that Dvārakā was a fort 'Durga,' built in the midst of seawaters; 'Antaḥ samudre.'

(e) The usual MBh refrain 'na prājñayata kiṁcana' used in describing fights, is found at PP 272. 19d; Daśa cāṣṭau ca saṁgrāman' BP 195. 11a = HV 93. 5126a. This incident, of Jarāsaṁdha's invasions, is referred to at MBh II. 19, where Kṛṣṇa persuades the Pāṇḍavas to take up his cause, and, as if to reserve this Magadha king for a death from Bhīma, PP and HV, which in the course of describing the battle, give a duel between Jarāsaṁdha and Rāma, where the latter overpowers the former, and while about to dispose him off for good, is prevented from doing so, by a word of the sky, according to HV, and by Kṛṣṇa himself according to PP.

(a) XII. BALARĀMA IN GOKULA.

(b) BP 197.8—198.19; VP 24.8-25.19; PP 374. 10-12; HV 103: BVP 106. 1-9; BhP 65.

(c) Balarāma paid a visit to Gokula, where he passed some days happily in the company of Gop's; while rambling in forests, he took to the habit of drinking. In his sojourn here, he drew the river Yamunā with his plough towards him. After two months, he returned to Mathurā, and there married the princess Revatī, and from her he had two sons, Nisāṭha and Utsuka.

(d) BP and VP mention that God Varuṇa had sent Vārūṇī for the pleasure of Rāma and then she appeared in Kadamba tree, while HV states that the cowherds offered him wine, as befitting the occasion, and Rāma drank of it in company with the Gopas and Gopīs. PP and BVP omit this incident mentioning only the marriage with Revatī. BhP takes this incident of Rāma's trip to Gokula after the Bāṇāsura episode, and there combines

the two accounts about wine,¹ mentioning the marriage incident long long back, at adh. 52. 15, after Jarāsaṁdha's burning the hill, where Vij. inserts an account of king Revata, the father of the bride, having gone to heaven to consult God Brahmā, who points to Balarāma as the fitting bridegroom. The bride was born in Ādi-yuga, and very tall, but Rāma made her short by means of his plough. Vij. also inserts before 52. 15, a MBh reference where Kṛṣṇa, hearing of the defeat of Drupada by the Pāṇḍavas, sends Kṛtavarmā, to get news from Hastināpura. BVP states² that she was 27 ages old, but does not refer to her tallness. HV mentions the marriage at the end of adh. 116, after the Yādavas were established in Dvārakā.

HV clearly states that the Yamunā, which was flowing at a distance, was drawn and made to flow through the fields of Vṛṇḍāvana, a feat of which Rāma is rightly proud. The names of the sons of Rāma are given in PP and VP.

(a) XIII KṚṢṆA'S MARRIAGE WITH RUKMIṆĪ.

(b) BP 199. 1-11; VP 26. 1-11; PP 274. 13-275. 19; HV 104-109; 117, 118; BVP 105-109; BhP 52. 16-54. 60 (other sources also mention this incident with a few details).

(c) Bhīsmaka, king of Kuṇḍinapura, in Vidarbha, wished to marry his daughter Rukmiṇī to Kṛṣṇa, but Rukmī, the brother of the bride, influenced by Jarāsaṁdha, offered her to Śiśupāla of the Cedis; Kṛṣṇa with his retinue, came to attend the marriage ceremony as a spectator, and took away the bride, defeating Rukmī and his partisans, who pursued to fight with him.

(d) PP inserts here a son of the Purohita, BVP a Brāhmaṇa Sudharmā, and BhP some Brāhmaṇa 'Āptam dvijam kameit,' as being sent by Rukmiṇī-by Bhīsmaka, according to BVP, -with a message to Kṛṣṇa in Dvārakā. HV, by giving the incident in two places, has created some inconsistency in the thread of the narrative, at adh. 104, Kṛṣṇa hears of the proposed Svayamvara of Rukmiṇī, and proceeds, properly attended to the place of selection. In the adhs. following, 105-109, Rukmī and his friends ar

1 "Varuṇapreṣitā devī vāruṇī vṛkṣakoṭarāt, patantī BhP 65. 19.

2 "vayo yasyā gatam satyam yugānām saptaviṁśatiḥ," BVP 106. 3.
A. 17.

disconcerted at Kṛṣṇa's appearance, but he is well received by Kaiśika, and is ultimately crowned on the throne of Vidarbha by the same prince, and Jarāsaṁdha and Sunitha, who objected to Kṛṣṇa's presence, were formally reconciled with Kṛṣṇa, who returns to Mathurā, without the Svayamvara coming off, apparently. Adhs. 110-115, are devoted to Kālayavana story, and Dvārakā is built at adh. 116, and then at 117, we see the story of Rukmiṇī taken up again, where apparently, the question of choice is put aside, and Jarāsaṁdha, with the influence of other kings resolves upon the marriage of Rukmiṇī with the Cedi prince Śiśupāla. The usual questioning of Janamejaya, as to who Rukmī was etc. which should rightly have come at the beginning at adh. 104, is seen here quite out of place. Then comes her abduction by Kṛṣṇa, the defeat of Rukmī etc. as is told in BP accounts. In BVP Kṛṣṇa is accompanied by Bhīṣma, Droṇa, Pāṇḍavas etc. and has a fight with Rukmī, Śālva etc., at the gates of Kuṇḍinapura, and after their defeat, is received by Bhīṣmaka in the palace court and subsequently married to Rukmiṇī, whose mother Subhadṛā, weeps at the departure of the couple to Dvārakā. PP mentions the worship of Durgā by the bride previous to the marriage, HV, of Indrāṇī, and BhP of Bhavānī, in a temple outside the city, from where she was taken away by Kṛṣṇa leaving Rāma and other Yādavas to fight with the pursuers. Vij Recn. inserting some stanzas, states that Rukmī overtook Kṛṣṇa while he was crossing the river Narmadā. In describing the marriage, PP and BVP state that Nanda, with his men, had come to attend the ceremony. BVP adding, at adh. 110, 111 that Yaśodā asked for Tattvajñāna, and Kṛṣṇa tells her to have it from Nanda; Yaśodā going to see Rādhā, who tells her that Kṛṣṇa was the Lord God, and engages herself in meditation.

(a) XIV. PRADYUMNA AND ŚAMBARA.

(b) BP 199.12-200, 30; VP 26,12-27.31; PP 277.2 (mere reference, while introducing the Uṣā story); HV 163-167, after the Pārijāta incident; BVP 112.1-33; BhP 55. 1-40; DBh 24. 43-25. 24.

(c) Rukmiṇī gave birth to a son who was taken away, by the demon Śambara, on the sixth day of the child's birth; the child was reared up by Māyavatī, the wife of the Asura, and when came

of age, she had a passion for the young boy, the reason being that she was Ratī, wife of Cupid, who was now born as Pradyumna, who, of course, upon knowing the facts, killed the Asura in fight and returned to Dvārakā with his wife, where he was joyfully received by his parents, who were told of the facts by Nārada.

(d) BP, VP and BhP state that the child was thrown into the sea, where it was swallowed by a fish, which was caught, and brought to Māyavatī, who, upon cutting the fish, saw the child, when Nārada told her of the incidents of her former life, saying that the child was her husband, and should be reared up. HV and BVP state that it was taken on the seventh day, and Śambara, of his own accord, gave it to his wife Māyā, who was awakened to the former things, by inspiration according to HV, by Sarasvatī according to BVP; HV gives a long description of the fight where Pradyumna, first kills the warriors of Śambara, and finally the Asura himself. Pradyumna is, here, helped by Indra, who sends Nārada with the Vaisnavāstra, and armour, when the Asura, having failed in his Māyās-illusive powers, -was about to hurl his powerfull Mudgara given him by goddess Umā. Pradyumna, under the advice of the sage, prays to Durgā, and by her favour, the large mace is turned into a garland of flowers, on the neck of the young hero. According to BVP, which, substitutes wind for Nārada, as messenger, asking to pray Durgā, which turns the *śūla* into flowers, the Asura was killed by Brahmāstra; while in BhP, Pradyumna cuts off the head of Śambara, by a sword. In BVP alone the fight comes off as a consequence of the young hero being detected in the course of amour with the Asura's wife. Other sources state that Pradyumna, on knowing of his birth calls on the Asura for a fight, while HV, dealing with details, states that the challenge was given by bringing down the flag-staff of the Asura with an arrow from the hero.

(e) Vij. Recn. inserts 3 stanzas, at the beginning of BhP 55, to state that Kṛṣṇa, got this son, as a favour from the God Śiva, who was pleased by Kṛṣṇa's penance. In DBh, Kṛṣṇa grieves at the loss of the child, and upon praying to the Devī, the Goddess shows him the traces, which lead to the recovery of the boy.

(a) XV KṚṢṆA'S OTHER WIVES AND CHILDREN.

(A) Besides Rukmiṇī, Kṛṣṇa married seven other wives; of these, Kṛṣṇa won (1) Satyabhāmā, and (2) Jāmbavatī, in the affair of the Syamantaka diamond, mentioned at PP. 276.1-37; BVP 122; BhP 56, 57; VyP 96.20-98: other sources give only the names of all these, and their progeny: BP 201.15; VP 28.1-5; HV 118.6696 ff., BhP giving details about others, too, at adh. 58: (3) Kālindī daughter of the Sun, seen by Kṛṣṇa while he was walking in company with Arjuna, on the banks of the river Yamunā; she had decided to marry no other, and was accepted by Kṛṣṇa. (4) Mitravindā, a cousin—a daughter of the Pitr̥śvasā— of Kṛṣṇa, was, knowing her love for him, carried away against the will of her brothers Vindānuvinda, friends of Duryodhana. (5) Satyā, daughter of king Nagnajita, was won by defeating seven powerful bulls. (6) Bhadrā, daughter of Śrutakīrti, and a cousin of Kṛṣṇa, was offered him by her brothers, and accepted in marriage; (7) Lakṣmanā, princess of Madra, was in 'Svayamvara', carried away by Kṛṣṇa. There is some difference in the names of these wives, as found in other sources. BP, VP and agreeing with these HV, give: Kālindī, Mitravindā, Satyā of Nagnajit, Jāmbavatī, Rohinī, Suśīlā, daughter of Madrarāja, Satyabhāmā, and Lakṣmanā. HV adding with regard to the last that she was the daughter of Śaibya; while PP, after concluding the Syamanta story with a line of Phalaśruti, states that three of these wives were daughters of Madrarāja, and in the list that follows at adh. 276.40-41, substitutes Suśīlā for Bhadrā and prefixes 'Su' to Lakṣmanā. DBh list at adh. 24. 40-41 agrees with BhP.

(B) Kṛṣṇa's killing Narakāśura, in a fight, at the request of Indra, gained him 16000 maidens, whom he married. This incident brought about another, in which Kṛṣṇa going to heaven brought the tree Pārijāta, for his wife Satyabhāmā. Both these are given in the different sources as follows:—

BP 202-204; VP 29-31; PP 276. 42-110; HV 121-125; BVP 112. 37-41, and 113. 41; BhP 59. DBh. 25. 25-27 (om. Naraka); BP 69. 81, 82 (om. Pārijāta). It is interesting to note here, that while BP, VP, and PP give comparatively equal space to both these incidents, HV attaches greater length to the second; BVP makes very

small business of both, giving them only in different references; BhP disposes of Pārijāta in 3 st. (59. 38-40) only, and the minor sources DBh and LP barely mention one, omitting the other altogether. This shows a tendency in each, to dilate upon, or shorten the incident according to the will of the author. Vij. to make up for the shortcoming of the original, inserts, after BhP 59, three adhs. giving a detailed description of Kṛṣṇa's fight with the gods, in the Pārijāta affair, where a stanza 65. 10, is seen to be framed after the text of BP 203. 24. PP inserts a talk between Naraka and Kṛṣṇa, where the former puts as his last prayer that people performing auspicious bath on the day of his death,—now popularly known as 'Narakacaturdaśī,'—should be exempt from hell. As regards, the tree itself, PP states that Satyabhāmā was insulted by Śaci, not offering her the flowers of the tree, and asked her Lord Kṛṣṇa to take the tree away, who agreed¹ that it should be on the earth till his life-time, while HV shows Nārada as root of the quarrel, as he brought a flower of the tree, and gave it to Rukmiṇī, when Satyabhāmā was enraged, and Kṛṣṇa, to satisfy her, sent word to Indra, through Nārada, and upon being rejected,—Indra here refers to the Khāṇḍava incident of the MBh, as one having occurred long back (cf. "Khāṇḍave cārjunaratham purā vāhayatā ..." HV 129. 7300)—went on to fight, and that the tree was to remain on the earth for² a year only, when it was offered along with Kṛṣṇa, by Satyabhāmā, to Nārada, in fulfillment of a 'vrata,' while BhP states,³ that it was planted in the courtyard of Satyabhāmā, without giving the period.

(C) Kṛṣṇa had a number of children from all these wives and had thus a very large family. Rukmiṇī is said to have 10 sons, and a daughter, Pradyumna being the first of all; the extent of all is given at BP 205. 1-5; VP 32, 1-5; HV at the end of the adh. 118 and with more details at adh. 162: BhP 61. 1-19; BVP 112. 36-41; of these BhP gives the largest number of names, BP, VP and HV giving only the names of the sons of Rukmiṇī, and BVP taking her as the model,⁴ putting ten sons and a daughter

1 Mayi svargam gate śakra grahāṇa tvam yatheccchayā, PP 276. 106.

2 Samratsare tato yāte... pārijātam punaḥ svargam anayat. HV 135. 7711.

3 Sthāpitaḥ Satyabhāmāyā gṛhoḍyānopaśobhanaḥ, BhP 59. 40.

4 "Ekasyām daśa putrāś ca kanyakaikā krameṇa ca" BVP 112. 40.

for each of these wives, all concluding that the total number was very large.

BP 201. 6-28 ; VP 28. 6-28 ; HV 119 ; and BhP 61. 20-40—first two after (A), and last two after (C),—give an incident, as connected with the family account, where Kṛṣṇa, with all his family and relations, had gone to attend the marriage of Aniruddha, son of Pradyumna, with the grand-daughter of Rukmī. After the ceremony was over, Rukmī, at the instigation of Kalinga, and others, proposed to play at dice with Balarāma, knowing that he was not an expert, and won all the bets on two days, when the Kalinga prince laughed, showing his teeth, and Rukmī too, joined in the ridicule. On the third day the bet proceeded, and in the discussion as to who won it, a word from the heaven decided in favour of Rāma, who to revenge the insult, drew away the teeth of Kalinga and killed Rukmī with Astapāda, putting others to flight. Kṛṣṇa afraid of a clash between Rāma and Rukmī, kept silent over the incident and returned to Dvārakā.

HV states,¹ that Rāma himself told Kṛṣṇa of the incident ; BhP states,² that Rāma killed Rukmī with an uplifted *parigha*.

HV has here, in its text, BP 201. 21cd, and 23c.

After the end of Pārijāta affair, at adh. 135, HV has a number of adh. 136-174, containing, besides the two references given above: extent of Kṛṣṇa's family at adh. 162, (vide C), and Śambara incident (XIV), at adh. 163-167, other subjects not found in any of the remaining sources in the present connection, and need not, therefore, be given here with any details.

(a) XVI LOVE AFFAIR BETWEEN ANIRUDDHA AND UśĀ

(b) BP 205, 206 ; VP 32, 33 ; PP 277 ; HV 175-190 ; BVP 114-120 ; BhP 62, 63.

(c) Uśā, daughter of Bali's son Bāṇa, saw Śiva and Pārvatī, indulging in amorous sports, and asked for the same pleasure for herself ; when subsequently, according to Pārvatī's promise, the young girl saw herself enjoyed by a youth, in a dream, she was helped by her friend Citralekhā, who identifying the youth as

1 " ... Rāmaḥ... nyavedayata Kṛṣṇasya tat ca sarvam... " HV 110.

2 " Kruddhah parigham udyamya... " BhP 61. 36,

Aniruddha, got him into the harem by her magic power, and here, the lovers stayed on. By this time, Bāṇa, who had a thousand arms, was eager for a strong fight and prayed to Śiva for an opponent in arms. Śiva told that the opportunity was coming; when the Asura was informed of the presence of the youthful lover, he fought with him, and bound him fast with serpents—'Pannagāstra.' Nārada took this news to Dvārakā and Kṛṣṇa, with his forces invaded Śoṇitapura, Bāṇa's city. In the strong fight that ensued, even Śiva sided with the Asura, but Kṛṣṇa defeated all, cutting the host of arms of Bāṇa, and ultimately, after reconciling matters, returned to his place, with the young lovers married.

(d) BVP differing, states that Pārvatī made Aniruddha eager by sending him a dream-vision of Uṣā, and in response Kṛṣṇa made Uṣā to crave for the youth, by sending his vision to her; that Citralekhā told of Uṣā's craving to Bāṇa, when he was with Śiva and others, Gaṇeśa told the facts, but was asked by Śiva, not to let Bāṇa hear him, so that after the lover had stayed with Uṣā, the guards of the harem told Bāṇa that his daughter was pregnant, which enraged him greatly, and in spite of Śiva and others objecting, he began to fight, where Aniruddha defeated him, and Kārttikeya as well. Bali then intervened, and prayed to Kṛṣṇa who promised not to kill Bāṇa. BP and VP state¹ that Bāṇa fought in a chariot driven by Nāndīśa. PP has the first 25 numbers of this adhyāya in prose, and brings in Pārvatī to pray to Kṛṣṇa to spare her husband, who was lying senseless on the field of battle, by Kṛṣṇa's Mohanāstra. BP, VP and BhP state that when Kṛṣṇa was about to hurl his discus against Bāṇa, the Māyā of the Daityas stood naked before him and consequently Kṛṣṇa closed his eyes and sent his Sudarśana to cut off the Asura's arms alone. PP stating² that Kṛṣṇa's Cakra cut off all the weapons hurled against him by Bāṇa and then the Asura's arms. HV at adh. 189, adds an incident after the marriage of the lovers, where Kṛṣṇa, advised by Bāṇa's minister Kubhāṇḍa, tries to take away Bāṇa's cows protected by Varuṇa, but finally give up the matter, at Varuṇa's request. Adh. 190, the last of

1 " Nandīśasaṃgrhitāśvam... | adhiruḍho mahāratham || " BP 206. 28.

2 " Tāni sarvāṇi ciccheda cakreṇaiva Janārdanaḥ " PP 277. 18.

the Visnuparvan in HV, gives the celebrations in Dvārakā, where the bride Uṣā was sent in a peacock—chariot by the goddess Rudrāṇī.¹

(e) HV finishes its account of Kṛṣṇa with this incident. AP which gives the whole life summary, mentions only the Yamunā-Karṣaṇa a feat of Rāma, after this, and concludes with the statement that Kṛṣṇa, after this, lived happily with his numerous wives and their children. In fact, this marks the height of Kṛṣṇa's prosperity according to Purāṇic tradition, as even in BhP adh. 63 ff. to the end of skandha X, except Mbh references, there is nothing to equal this incident.

There is one incident in which Kṛṣṇa has to fight with Paundraka Vāsudeva, king of Kāśī, referred to, at BP 207; VP 54; PP 278; BhP 66; but this is not common to all the sources; some mention, at HV 100; BhP Vij 52. 78 ff: BVP 121, a Śṛgāla Vāsudeva, who was ruling in Karavīrapura, and was killed by Kṛṣṇa in course of the Southern fight with Jarāsaṁdha (see above under XI). VyP, in giving the sons of Vasudeva from his different wives, mentions, at 96.183. 'Pundra' and 'Kapila' as sons of Sugandhī Vanarājī; of these the first becomes king, Kapila retiring to forests; both these Vāsudevas-Śṛgāla, according to BVP alone—are said to have imitated Kṛṣṇa, in appearance, and paraphernalia, and posed themselves as the original, challenging Kṛṣṇa for fight or surrender; the latter cut the head of Paundraka with his cakra, when his son, under favour of Śiva, created a 'Kṛtyā' and sent her against Dvārakā, which began to take fire: so Kṛṣṇa, who was then playing at dice, sent his Sudarśana after her, which pursuing her to the end, burnt down the city of Vārāṇasī. PP gives the name of the son, as Daṇḍapāṇi, while BhP calls him Sudakṣiṇa, BP and VP not giving any. This incident, perhaps, records history of Kṛṣṇa's fight with the followers of Śaiva faith, who wore Pundra mark, and imitated the Bhāgavatas. BhP inserts between the Uṣā incident and Paundraka affair, two adhs. 64—giving Nṛgopākhyāna and 65 the incident no. XII, while BVP places Śṛgāla and Sya-

1 "Māyūraṁ ratham āruhya ... | Uṣā saṁpreṣitā devyā rudrāṇyā... HV 190. 11032.

mantaka, bringing in¹ Mbh reference in the former case, (adh. 121 and 122) after Usā incident, and reverts to its main theme about Rādhā, and finishes the story with her reunion: (123-129) after 100 years of separation, Rādhā worships Gaṇeśa and is reunited to Kṛṣṇa, who, after fully sporting himself, finally returns to Goloka with her, and with other residents of Gokula. 130; Nārada's marriage with Srñjaya's daughter and his return to penance after a short worldly life. 131; about Fire being called 'Hiraṇyaretas'. 132 a brief resumé of the BVP.

(a) XVII-EXPLOITS OF BALARĀMA.

As mentioned above, the Purāṇic story of Kṛṣṇa seems to refer to the Usā incident, as the last one of importance, and then, after some time, comes the 'last of the Yādavas', which HV, forming a part of the Mbh, omits. But before this, it was natural to give something about Balarāma, the elder brother, and here we find the Rsis asking about the same: "Śrotum iochāmahe bhūyo *Balbhadrasya dhīmatah* : Mune parākramam śauryam..." BP 208.

(b) In reply to this, we have two incidents recorded at BP 208, 209, VP 36,37; HV (only the first, coming after Rukmī's death; see under XV), and BhP 67,68 (transposing the two), the last source adding a few more still before coming to the end.

(c) These two incidents are : (1) placing his plough against the city-walls, Balarāma, forcing the capital Hastināpura, into the river Ganges, as he was enraged by the Kauravas laughing at his orders to release Sāmba, Kṛṣṇa's son, who was taken captive, while he was trying to run away with the daughter of Duryodhana from Svayamvara, and (2) killing Dvīvida, the monkey friend of Narakāśura, as he attacked Rāma, while he was enjoying himself in his wife's company, in the gardens of the hill Raivata.

(e) After this BhP adds a number of adhs. mainly dealing with the Mbh. incidents. This is the only Purāṇa which has stated the Purāṇic story in Mbh. context; the details in the BhP portion under consideration, are:—69 Kṛṣṇa's family life; 70-77 Mbh. Sabhā portion from Jarāsaṁdha to Śiśupāla incidents, and

1. Śrgāla upbraiding Kṛṣṇa.—"Droṇam Bhīṣmaṁ ca Karṇam ca..... ghātayā-māsa Māyayā" showing that Mbh. war was over already. BVP 121.9.

Vana portion regarding Kṛṣṇa's fight with Śālva ; 78 1-16 Death of Dantavakra and Vidūratha by Kṛṣṇa, in fight (PP 279.18-23 gives the death of the first, who fought 'day and night' with Kṛṣṇa at the gates of Mathurā, and after this, at st. 24-28, Kṛṣṇa went to Gokula, sported with the women of the place for two months, and sending all the beings of the place to happy Vaikuṇṭha, returned to Dvārakā). 17-40 Rāma's pilgrimage, during the Mahābhārata war. 79-Rāma's return to Dvārakā after the war. 80,81 (Coronation of Yudhisthira, inserted in Vij. Recn.) also in PP 279.29-36 ; BVP 113.37-40. Kṛṣṇa's friend-'Kucela' 'Sudhāman' in BVP; 'Bālasakhā satīrthya', in PP,—struck with poverty, made rich by Kṛṣṇa ; 82 Meeting of Yādavas and Pāndavas on the Kuruksetra, where Nanda, Yaśodā too, were present. 83. Talk between Draupadī and Kṛṣṇa's wives. 84. Sacrifice performed by Vāsudeva : and then all returning to Dvārakā for the rainy season. 85.1-26. Vasudeva praising Kṛṣṇa and Rāma. 27 ff. Devakī shown her dead sons by Kṛṣṇa ; 86 Arjuna taking away Subhadrā, an incident, as if forgotten so long. 87 Śrutigītā recited by Ṛṣi Nārāyaṇa to Nārada. 88 Vṛkāsura story, similar to Bhaṣmāsura, here Nārāyaṇa taking the form of a boy—'baṭu'—puts the Asura down. 89.1-21, discussion among Bhṛgu and other Ṛṣis, about the greatness of Viṣṇu, 22-66, also at HV 170-73 PP 279.41-55; BVP 113.35; Kṛṣṇa and Arjuna engaged in restoring the dead sons of a Brāhmana, where Arjuna was proved powerless. PP states¹ that the Brāhmana had thus lost 6 sons, the last aged 5 years, and BhP, differing,² gives three sons, each dying as soon as born. 90, Kṛṣṇa's sports with his wives.

(a) XVIII—LAST OF THE YĀDAVAS.

(b) BP 210-212, VP 37, 38; PP 279.56-96; BhP XI, 1, 6, 30, 31, LP 69-83-94; Mbh. XVI.1-8.

(c) Yādava boys, out of joke, took Sāmba dressed as a woman to the Ṛṣis, Viśvāmitra, Kanva and Nārada, at the holy place Pindāraka, and asked them, what the pregnant lady would bear.

1. "Mṛtam Pañcavarṣikam bālam" and "...mama pañca putrā pūrvam hatā ayaṃ tu ṣaṣṭhaḥ..." PP 279.41.43.

2. "Jātamātro bhuvam sprṣṭvā mamāra kila bhārata" and "Evam dvitīyam vipraṛṣis tṛtīyam tvevam eva ca," BhP 89.22,26.

The insulted Brāhmaṇas told the boys that Sāmba would give birth to a 'Musala', a rod, and it would prove ruin to all the Yādavas. The rod was accordingly born, and the boys, afraid of the consequences, told the whole to king Ugrasena, who pounded it, and threw it into the sea, where it grew into Eraka grass, and the iron ring of the rod was swallowed by a fish, secured by the hunter Jarā, who set it to his arrow. Kṛṣṇa, on his side, received the hint, and seeing bad omens, ordered all the Yādavas to proceed to the holy place Prabhāsa, where the Yādavas, drunk to excess, fell to quarrelling, and Kṛṣṇa, seeing them gone out of control, took a handful of grass and struck all to death with it. Dārūka, the charioteer, alone was left and was sent by Kṛṣṇa to carry the news to Arjuna, asking him to come for relief of those left behind; Rāma, in the form of a serpent, expired, and Kṛṣṇa was struck in his foot by an arrow from the hunter Jarā.

Ugrasena, Vasudeva and his wives, as also the principal wives of Kṛṣṇa, entered fire, while Arjuna with the remaining ladies and men proceeded towards his own place, when the camp was attacked, on the way, by robbers, who took away some of the ladies too. Arjuna, who could not successfully revert the attack, and was disappointed, reached Indraprastha, with the remaining people, and crowned Vajra, a great-grandson of Kṛṣṇa, on the throne, and with his brothers, himself proceeded to his Mahāprasthāna.

(d) PP mentions only the great Ṛṣi Kaṇva, practising penance on the river Narmadā, while LP adds 'Durvāsāh' to the three, BhP adding a number of others. BP, VP, and BhP state that Uddhava, an intimate friend of Kṛṣṇa, was sent to Badari after the curse was known; Mbh.¹ seems to state that he expired, as 'left, none knew where,' while PP and LP omit this altogether; PP stating that the Musala was disposed of by Kṛṣṇa, Mbh.² refers to an acclamation prohibiting drink in the city. BhP inserts, previous to the final departure of Uddhava, a series of adhyāyas 7-29 dealing with philosophy told him by Kṛṣṇa after

1. Apaśyan nuddhvam yāntam tejasāvṛtya rodasī, Mbh. XVI, 4.14.

2. "...Surāsavo no kartavyaḥ...18, Yas'ca no viditam kuryāt peyam...Jīvan sa sūlam ārohet..." Mbh. XVI.2.19.

the fashion of the Mbh. A portion of the great Mbh. episode beginning with the aftermath of the war, is also given at the beginning of the BhP 1.7-15, as also the context of this Purāṇa, is set in the meeting between Vidura and Uddhava after the expiry of all the Yādavas and Pāṇḍavas. Regarding the robbing away of some of Kṛṣṇa's widows, Mbh. XVI.8.60, BP (agreeing with VP) 212.26, has the same statement, that some were taken by force, while others followed through their *desire* "Kāmāt cānyāḥ pravavrajuh." BhP wisely omits this reference, saying that Arjuna took the remaining people to Indraprastha, while PP only refers to the ladies being taken; 'jagṛhuh'. In explanation of this, BP, VP, and PP refer to an old incident where the sage Aṣṭāvakra was laughed at, for his deformity, by the celestial nymphs, and were, cursed by him that they would go with robbers, and by his favour, were granted that they would have lord Vāsudeva as their husband. PP is not clear regarding the sequences of the curse and favour, but BP and VP state¹ that the sage was prayed to by the ladies, while he was neck-deep in water, and laughed at when he came out.

III-KṚṢṆA STORY IN THE MAHĀBHĀRATA.

1. We have done so far with the incidents in the life of Kṛṣṇa, as given in the different Purāṇas, and although there is difference as regards details, we can say that the general story, *in gross*, is the same in *all* these sources; we have also reason to suppose that except for BP and VP, each source has a separate composition for itself, although BP seems to have influenced a few other sources, to some extent; and now we turn to

THE MAHĀBHĀRATA,

another source of importance, where a part of the life of Kṛṣṇa, as connected with that of the Pāṇḍavas, is found. We can very well see that whatever the present state of the Epic text be, it was mainly meant to describe the Pāṇḍavas and their cousins, and Kṛṣṇa, though a very important ally of the former, comes

1. Tuṣṭuvus tam mahātmānam...74, Ākaṇṭhamagnaṇi salile...BP 272.75, and, "tam uttiraṇam ca dadṛśur virūpaṇi vakraṇi aṣṭadhā ...hāsaḥ sphuṭo bhavat tāḥ śaśāpa muniḥ...op. cit, 212,81,82.

in only where he is wanted. The following is, in brief, a list of incidents, mentioned in MBh, where Kṛṣṇa figures directly some way or other :—

- 1-I. 201-227 Kṛṣṇa, present at the Svayamvara of Draupadī, sees the Pāṇḍavas, returns with them to Hastināpura, gets Indraprastha built, and, with Rāma, returns to Dvārakā.
- 2-I. 247-II. 2 goes to attend the marriage ceremony of his sister Subhadrā, stays on with the Pāṇḍavas, when too, comes off the Khāṇḍava fire ; and returns to Dvārakā with his sister Subhadrā.
- 3-II. 13-25 sent for by Yudhisthira, for advice in the matter of Rājasūya ; death of Jarāsaṁdha, and Kṛṣṇa's subsequent return to his place.
- 4-II. 38-72 washed the feet of the Brāhmaṇas, during the sacrifice ; offered Arghya by Sahadeva, and insulted by Śiśu-pāla, kills the latter : returns to Dvārakā after the sacrifice.
- 5-III. 12-22 goes with his followers, to offer condolences to Yudhisthira in forest ; relates his encounter with Śālva, as the cause of his absence from the Dyūta ; returns with Subhadrā and Abhimanyu to Dvārakā.
- 6-III. 119-121 Meeting of the Yādavas and Pāṇḍavas at Prabhāsa.
- 7-III. 185-236. comes with Satyabhāmā, and stays with the Pāṇḍavas in the Kūmyaka forest and returns after some time. 264 Feast to sage Durvāsas. Kṛṣṇa helping Draupadī-Northern Interpolation.
- 8-IV. 78—V. 5, goes to Upaplavya and after the marriage of Abhimanyu, brings about a meeting of the kings and settles upon the Pāṇḍava's demand for their share, and then leaves for Dvārakā, asking to be sent for if Duryodhana refuses to admit their claim.
- 9-V. 17, Duryodhana and Arjuna, seeking help from Kṛṣṇa, in the coming war, go to Dvārakā, where Duryodhana gets the army and Kṛṣṇa, who had vowed not to take any active part in actual fight, joins Arjuna and returns with him.

10-V. 71-150, Kṛṣṇa's futile embassy to the Kauravas; reports his failure to the Pāṇḍavas.

11-V. 152. 5-9. Kṛṣṇa with Dhṛṣṭadyumna and Sātyakī, arranged the camp for the army of the Pāṇḍavas.

12-VI-X-THE WAR.

- (i) VI. 25-42 preaching the Bhagavadgītā.
- (ii) a-VI. 59. 91 marching with his discus against Bhīṣma;
b-VI. 106. 55 marching against Bhīṣma, restrained by Arjuna, in both cases.
- (iii) VII.29.18 protected Arjuna by taking upon himself the charge of Vaisnava missile sent by Bhagadatta, VII 32-43 explained to Arjuna his four-fold form.
- (iv) VII.77.22 consoling Subhadrā after the death of Abhimanyu.
- (v) VII.100.19 groomed the horses and caused them to drink water. in the din of battle.
- (vi) VII. 142. 60. promised dying Bhūriśravas, his own world, form etc. in heaven.
- (vii) VII. 147. 61 ff, created darkness, told Arjuna to cut off the head of Jayadratha, making it fall in the lap of his father.
- (viii) VII. 174. 45ff, encouraged and sent off Ghatotkaca against Karna.
- (ix) VII. 191, advised Pāṇḍavas to practise fraud on Droṇa; urged Yudhishthira to tell a lie.
- (x) VIII. 72, told Arjuna, the story of Kauśika, and Balāka, and pacified him, when he (Arjuna) had drawn sword against Yudhishthira, for the insult offered to his (bravery) bow Gāṇḍīva.
- (xi) VIII. 97. 30, saved Arjuna from the serpent-arrow of Karna, by pressing the chariot five figures deep in the ground.
- (xii) IX. 6. 26-40, advises Yudhishthira to kill Śalya.
- (xiii) IX. 33. 2-16. censures Yudhishthira for having given Duryodhana, the last decisive chance of fighting with one of them.

- (xiv) IX. 59. 3-19, afraid of Duryodhana's success, advises Arjuna to give Bhīma a hint to strike Duryodhana on his thigh, even against the rules.
- (xv) IX. 61 tried to pacify his brother Rāma, who was angry at the duel against the rules, but Rāma, still unsatisfied, returns to Dvārakā.
- (xvi) IX. 62. 27 ff, Vāsudeva and Duryodhana upbraiding each other.
IX. 62. 71ff, consoles the despondent Pāṇḍavas.
- (xvii) IX. 63. 50-54, advised by Yudhisthira, leaves for Hastināpura, to comfort Gāndhārī and Dhṛtarāstra.
- (xviii) X. 16. 12, cursing Aśvatthāman, declares that he would revive Parikṣit.
- 13-XI. 11-15, substituted the iron statue of Bhīma, for Dhṛtarāstra to embrace, and afterwards pacifies him (23 ff.)
- 14-XI. 25. 39-46. Gāndhārī curses Kṛṣṇa.
XI. 26. 1-5, Kṛṣṇa upbraids her, telling the faults of her sons, which brought about the calamity.
- 15-XII, XIII, telling stories to calm the mind of Yudhisthira and taking him to Bhīṣma for the same.
 - (a) XII,28, tells the history of the sixteen kings.
 - (b) XII,29, tells Nārada and Parvata story.
 - (c) „ 38, tells Cārvaka's story at the time of the coronation.
 - (d) „ 45.21 asks Yudhisthira to approach Bhīṣma for knowledge.
 - (e) „ 48, tells the story of Rāma-Jāmadagnya.
 - (f) „ 81, Vasudeva-Nārada saṁvāda, regarding the quarrels among the Yādavas, related by Bhīṣma.
 - (g) “ 237, discourse between Ugrasena and Kṛṣṇa on the merits of Nārada.
 - (h) XIII.45-49, describes the greatness of Rudra, when Kṛṣṇa himself practised penance for a son from Jāmbavatī and pleased Rudra, who granted him boons.

" 139-146 (N. Recn) propitiated Śiva by penance, who
202-250 (S. Recn) foretold Kṛṣṇa's feats and granted boons.

" 252, returns to Dvārakā, when Rukmiṇī gave birth to Pradyumna.

" 265-66, describes the greatness of Rudra to Yudhiṣṭhira.

(i) XIII.264, tells Pradyumna how Durvāsas was pleased after severe tests.

16-XIV.17-51 recited Anugītā to Arjuna.

17- „ 58, on his way to Dvārakā, sees the sage Uttānka, and pacifies him by showing his Viśvarūpa etc.

18- „ 60-62, related the incidents of the war to his father, who performed obsequies for the dead relatives.

19- „ 69.24-36, restored to life the dead child of Uttarā.

20- „ 87-89, attended the horse-sacrifice of Yudhiṣṭhira, and returned to Dvārakā.

21-XVI—The Mausalaparvan, describing the end of all the Yādavas, including Kṛṣṇa's death at the hands of a hunter, Jarā; and lastly,

22-XVIII.42, seen in his divine form in heaven, by Yudhiṣṭhira.

2. A comparison of these incidents with those of the Purāṇic tradition, will show that, excepting the Mausala, giving the end of the Yādava family, no incident is common, and that the two are quite separate traditions. Of course, some Purāṇas, and BhP, most of them, do bring in the Mbh. story, to a certain extent, as we find the reverse in the Mbh. also. The following is a brief statement of these references:—

MBH. REFERENCES IN THE PURĀṆAS

1. Indra requesting Kṛṣṇa to befriend Arjuna, and Kṛṣṇa promising accordingly to protect him all through his life. BP 188.40-47, VP 12.17-24.

2. Garga, giving a prophesy of Kṛṣṇa's life, mentions his help towards the Pāṇḍavas—BVP 13.131.

3. Rājasūya incident, and Śiśupāla's death, mentioned, as also the Mbh. war Op. cit. 113.23-34.

4. Bāna, speaking to Aniruddha, referring to the Mbh. war op. cit. 115.65.

5. Śṛagāla Vāsudeva, upbraiding Kṛṣṇa, referring to the death of Bhīṣma, Drona etc. through Kṛṣṇa, op. cit. 121.8,9.

6. Indra referring to the Khāṇḍava fire, while speaking to Nārada, in the Pārijāta incident HV 129.7300.

7. BhP, at the very beginning, makes¹ Śuka say that he would give a combined account of Kṛṣṇa and the Pāṇḍavas, and starts with the Sauptika incidents of the Mbh. Further at skandha X, which is mainly devoted to the life of Kṛṣṇa, it inserts, off and on, various references to incidents in the Mbh. This tendency has been carried further still, by Vij Recn, which mentions some more in its text. Here are some instances to support this statement :—

(a) Akrūra being sent to Hastināpura to get news about the Pāṇḍavas, BhP X.48.32 ff, after Kāṁsa's death, and his subsequent return after seeing Dhṛtarāṣṭra's attitude, towards the Pāṇḍavas, op. cit. 49.

(b) Vij. giving a list of kings in Jarāsaṁdha's army; mentioning Drupada, Śakunī and others of Mbh. fame. op. cit. after 50 12ab. HV, in addition, mentions² the Kauravas also.

(c) Vij. mentioning Kṛtavarma being sent by Kṛṣṇa to see the Pāṇḍavas, he having learnt that Drupada was defeated by the young sons of Kuntī. op. cit. ins. after 52.14.

(d) Kṛṣṇa going to pay a visit to the Pāṇḍavas at Indraprastha very soon after their marriage with Draupadī. op. cit. 58, and during his stay of some months, married Kālindī, daughter of the Sun. 58.13ff.

(e) Kṛṣṇa going to see the Pāṇḍavas in forest, hearing of their loss of kingdom etc. in the play at dice; ins. by Vij at the beginning of adh. 64, and returning to Dvārakā with Subhadrā and Abhimanyu.

1. " Parikṣito tha rājarṣer janmakarma vilāyanam, saṁsthām ca Pāṇḍu-putrāṇām vakṣye Kṛṣṇakathodayam," BhP. I.7.12.

2. "Duryodhanadayaś caiva dhṛtarāṣṭrā mahabhaṭāḥ" HV 91.4971,

(f) Kings, kept in custody by Jarāsaṁdha, sending word to Kṛṣṇa for their relief, when Nārada, coming, advises him about the Rājasūya of the Pāṇḍavas. The story of the sacrifice with the deaths of Jarāsaṁdha and Śiśupala, Śālva's attack on Dvārakā during Kṛṣṇa's absence at the Rājasūya; Kṛṣṇa's return and death of Śālva. op. cit. 70-77.

(g) After 78.16, Vij. *ins.* the story of the Mbh. war, beginning with the meeting of kings at Upaplavya, referred to at the beginning of Mbh. V. BhP, proper, mentions only Rāma's pilgrimage at the time of the war. "Śrutvā yuddhodyamaṁ Rāmaḥ Kurūpām saha Pāṇḍavaḥ | tīrthābhisekayājāna madhyasthaḥ prayayau kila..." BhP 78.17; refers also to his presence at the duel between Bhīma and Duryodhana, and his return to Dvārakā after futile efforts to prevent it. 79.22 ff.

(h) Vij. *inserts* at the beginning of adh. 80, Yudhiṣṭhira's coronation, after the close of the war. and Kṛṣṇa's subsequent return to Dvārakā.

(k) Arjuna taking away Kṛṣṇa's sister Subhadrā, an incident mentioned at Mbh.I.239-244, appearing here as a supplement at the near end of the story, at adh. 86.1-12. This portion does not appear in the Vij. Recn.

3. The Mbh. too, on the other hand, contains references to the Purāṇic story of Kṛṣṇā; here, too, we find a tendency in the Southern Recn. of the Epic, to insert more Purāṇic matter, as will be seen from the following :—

PURĀṆIC REFERENCES IN THE MAHĀBHĀRATA.

I-65. 3954, Earth approaching Brahmā and praying for relief, referred to in all Purāṇas, vide above.

I-214. 32, 33, Kṛṣṇa and Rāma born of the black and white hair of Nārāyaṇa, entering the wombs of Devakī and Rohiṇī (mentioned in the Pañcendropākhyāna). referred to in BP, VP and DBh. vide II (d) above.

II. 19. Kṛṣṇa referring to Kāṁsa's death as the cause of his enmity towards Jarāsaṁdha.

II. 23, giving the Purāṇic account of Kṛṣṇa's life- a *southern interpolation*.

- II. 40. 23 Śiśupāla depreciating Kṛṣṇa: " Rājānam hatavān purā Jarāsamdham..., " where Nīlakanṭha takes ' Rājānam ' to mean " Kāmsam. "
- II. 42-61, Bhīṣma about the different incarnations; Kṛṣṇa's life at 52-60-*South-interpolation*.
- II. 64. 7-12, Śiśupāla referring to Purāṇic incidents:—
Pūtana (Śakuni), Aśvaṁśabham, cetanārahitam kāstham pātitaṁ, pādēna Śakataṁ, valmīkamātraḥ (hill) saptaḥam ...dhrtaḥ, bahvannaṁ bhuktaṁ; hataḥ Kāmsaḥ; " this passage is laid down by R. G. Bhandarkar as an interpolation (Vaisnavism p. 50).
- II. 68. 15-22, Kṛṣṇa enumerating the evil deeds of Śiśupāla, referring to his burning Dvārakā during Kṛṣṇa's absence on the trip to Prāgjyotiṣapura (of Narakāśura), and his desire for Rukminī, along with other actions.
- II. 83. 8, Vidura to Dhṛtarāṣṭra refers to Kāmsa's death by Kṛṣṇa.
- II. 90. 43-49, Draupadī praying to Kṛṣṇa. when she was being stripped off her garments. S. and N. Recn. having different texts, the epithets used here, and prominently ' Gopījanapriya ' the *only* reference in Mbh. implying Kṛṣṇa's friendship with the Gopīs, are not found in old MSS. of Mbh.
- III. 12. 30. 32, Arjuna pacifying the angry Kṛṣṇa in the forest residence of Pāṇḍavas, mentions: his having made the way to Prāgjyotiṣa safe by breaking the nets of Mura, and killing Nisumbha and Naraka, also refers to his taking away Rukminī.
- 15-22, Kṛṣṇa relating his encounter with Śālva.
- V. 48. 74 ff. Saṁjaya reporting Arjuna's speech to the Kauravas, referring to Kṛṣṇa's prowess. mentioning with other deeds, Rukminīharana, killing of Dantavakra, and burning of Vārāṇasī (in the affair of Paundraka Vāsudeva); Kṛṣṇa killed Kāmsa, and restored the diamond ' Kuṇḍalas ' to the gods, who granted him boons.
- V. 67. 4, Saṁjaya to Dhṛtarāṣṭra " Narakam Śambaram caiva Kāmsacaidyaṁ ca mādhabaḥ jītvān.. kṛḍan niva..."

- V. 130. 55-67. Vidura enumerating the deeds of Kṛṣṇa refers* to Dvīdva, Naraka, Pūtānā, Govardhana, Arista, Dhenuka, Cānūra, Aśvarāja (Keśī), Kaiśa, Jarāsaṁdha, Baka, Śiśupāla, Bāpa, Pārijāta etc. etc. st 68 : "his marriage with the captive maidens " is omitted in old MSS.
- VII. 11. 1-26, Dhṛtarāṣṭra describing Kṛṣṇa's feats since his childhood, beginning with his being reared up among the cowherds : "Samvardhatā gopakule balenaiva...Vikhyāpitam balam" : and ending with his bringing the tree Pārijāta from heaven.
- IX. 62. 26. Duryodhana upbraiding Kṛṣṇa calls him : " Kaiśaśaśasya dāyāda. "
- XII. 348. God Hari, in Śvetadvīpa, telling Nārada of his ten incarnations :—life of Kṛṣṇa appears as a prophecy at st. 21-41, where restoration of Nāga, the lizard, and fight with Bāna (25, 26), death of Kaiśa, Keśī and others, Kāliya, Paundraka, as also the holding of Govardhana (30-33), and few other lines giving more details, are given as *southern interpolation*.
- XIII. 45-49, Requested by his wife Jāmbavatī for a son, Kṛṣṇa, 12 years after the death of Śaṁbara by Pradyumna, left for Himālayas and practising hard penance propitiated the God Śiva, who granted him boons.
- XIII. God Śiva describing the greatness of the great Hari Kṛṣṇa, foretells his birth from Vasudeva, of the Śūra family : ' sa śūrah...janayisyati...Vasudeva iti khyātam putram...13. tasya putraś caturbāhur Vāsudevo bhavi-syati' 32. refers to his victory over Jarāsaṁdha (34), his birth in Śūrasena, and residence in Dvārakā, (36), and mentions his elder brother (54).
- XVI. 1-8, Mausala incident referred to above.

IV—CONCLUDING REMARKS.

1. That the Mbh. in its present form, seems influenced by the Purāṇas, can be seen from the Mārkaṇḍeya-saṁasyā, of the Vanaparvan, also a description of Rāma's pilgrimage, appearing in Śalyaparvan, both these being meant to describe the holy

places of India, after the fashion of the Purāṇas ; besides this, we find an actual mention of two Purāṇas ;" Matsyakam nāma Purāṇam III. 190. 55," and "Vāyuproktam anusmṛtya Purāṇam," III. 194. 16. It is therefore, probable that the Purāṇic account of Kṛṣṇa's life, crept in, at some stage of development of the text, as he formed one of the most prominent characters of the Epic.

2. Kṛṣṇa's identification with the Supreme godhead Viṣṇu Nārāyaṇa is, except in a few cases, complete in the present texts of the Epic and the Purāṇas, and tracing the different stages, at which he was first described as a great hero, and subsequently identified with the Godhead, would be only a piece of guess-work. We find numerous references in the Mbh. where he is referred to as an incarnation of the Great God, the creator and protector, as also the destroyer of the world ; and the Purāṇas, too, are not a bit backward in this matter. There is only one prominent place in the whole Epic, and that is the Bhagavadgītā, where, if we compare it with its imitation, the Anugītā, we can find out some trace of this development. A detailed comparative study of these two, is still a desideratum. It would suffice, for the sake of our present subject, to give just a few points :—

3. The Anugītā, has, for its context, a blunt or rather a foolish occasion, when Arjuna, after the horse-sacrifice, seeing that Kṛṣṇa would be returning to Dvārakā, asks him to repeat the Bhagavadgītā, saying¹ that he had forgotten all about it ; Kṛṣṇa in reply, saying that he too, was unable to repeat it exactly, but would give him a story which would carry the same² sense, and then starts with the philosophy told by the Brāhmaṇa from the heavens ; this story ends with adh. 20, which is concluded by Kṛṣṇa, by saying, ' this same was heard by Arjuna, at the time of the war : "Tadāpi hi rathasthas tvam śrutavān etad eva hi," 20.55, clearly meaning that the matter contained in adh. 17-20, was the same as that in the original Bhagavadgītā. Of course, the Anugītā, as we find it, at present, does not end here, but has got

1 "Yat tu tad bhavatā proktam purā Keśava souhṛdāt 'tat sarvam puruṣa-vyāghra naṣṭam me vyagracetasaḥ," XIV. 17. 6.

2 "Yathā tām buddhim āsthāya gatim agryām gamiṣyasi," op. cit. 17. 14.

two more additions, (1) the dialogue between the Brāhmaṇa couple adhs. 21-35, ending with Kṛṣṇa's explaining, that the Brāhmaṇa was the mind (manah), and his wife was the intellect (buddhi); and (2) the dialogue between the teacher and his disciple 36-51, where too, at the end, Kṛṣṇa says that he was the teacher and the mind was the student, and here again, do we find the reference to the occasion of the BhG. repeated.¹ The number of stanzas in these three portions, amounts to a little above 700, the present BhG. text. Thus, if we are to judge from the Anugītā, the BhG, its original, seems to have *three* stages of development.

Apart from the treatment of the topics, a striking feature of the Anugītā is that, it is, all through, given in an indirect narration, while the text of BhG. abounds in statements in the ' first ' person, referring to Kṛṣṇa, as the Supreme God. In other words, Kṛṣṇa asserts himself as the God, and disposer of the worlds, in BhG. text, while in AG. he merely expounds the principles of philosophy, stating only at the end that he was the teacher. If AG clearly purports to be a repetition of BhG, it is difficult to see why it takes this roundabout way, avoiding the first personal ' Aham ' referring to Kṛṣṇa.

Mbh. is, otherwise, full of references recognising Kṛṣṇa, as the supreme God, and as such he is often called ' Purāṇa Ṛṣi, ' ' Vedātmā ' vijānatām dṛśyaḥ (II. 36. 10. 11) ' ' sāksād devaḥ, ' avyayātmā paramēśvaraḥ (III. 86. 25-28), ' ' lokatrayasyādhipatir mahātmā (V. 22. 10), ' viśvasrg (VII. 33. 12), ' viśvasya brahmano mukham (XII. 212. 10), ' sarvasya sraṣṭā, samhāra eva ca (XIV. 55. 4), ' etc. etc. all the epithets of Viṣṇu, Hari, Nārāyaṇa, being given to him.

4. In this connection, it is interesting to note that the ' Visṇu sahasranāma ' at XIII. 254, does *not* contain any synonym illustrating any incident of Kṛṣṇa's Purāṇic life, though it mentions his connection with the Yādavas, and such other things that are found in the Mbh. text, too ; there is again, a collection of 100 names, at XII. 42, directly addressed to Kṛṣṇa, by Yudhiṣṭhira,

1 ' Pūrvam apyetaḍ evoktam yuddhakāla upasthite ' 51. 49.

but here too, we find only his identification with the Godhead, and no reference to his Purāṇic life.

Mbh. is only responsible for the combined identification of Arjuna and Kṛṣṇa, with Nara and Nārāyaṇa, who are stated to be sages gifted with superior knowledge, incarnations of the God. There are only twenty-six references to this, comparatively far too little. In the Purāṇic sources, BhP, and that too, only in one place, refers to this identification, when Kṛṣṇa and Arjuna go to the heavens to fetch the dead children of a Brāhmana (BhP 89 60: " pūrnakāmāv api yuvām Naranārāyaṇāv ṛṣi, " supreme God addressing the two). A striking fact, in this connection, is, that the famous benedictory stanza: ' Nārāyaṇam namaskṛtya etc.' beginning the Mbh. and mentioning the pair under reference, is not found in the Southern MSS., which have some others to begin the great Epic with. It is, therefore, clear, that this stanza is a composition of the Northern Recension, and perhaps the identification itself is a Northern idea. Of course, the whole Mbh. MSS. material is not yet handled, and perhaps, even after the study of the S. MSS., it might be found that the 26 and old references to this Naranārāyaṇa idea, are not missing in the S. Recn. too; the contamination between the two Recensions was inevitable. But it is possible that although Kṛṣṇa was identified with Nārāyaṇa long back, it was only his friendship with Arjuna of the Mbh. reputation, that subsequently gave the latter, a position of Nara, and thus the two stood side by side, as worshipful ones. A proof of this joint worship of Vāsudeva and Arjuna, is indicated in the sūtra ' Vāsudevārjunābhyām vun ' of Pāṇini, often quoted by scholars, to refer to Kṛṣṇa's greatness, disregarding the other part, mentioning ' Arjuna ' ; the sūtra would show that both Vāsudeva and Arjuna were considered as worshipful, and just as ' Vāsudevaka ' denoted a devotee of the first, ' Arjunaka ' should denote one worshipping the second. So perhaps, both these were given high position, and were worshipped as gods in the times of Pāṇini, and it was to point to this joint greatness, that references to their being Nara and Nārāyaṇa, were inserted at some stage of development of the Epic text.

6. R. G. Bhandarkar at p. 13, and 51, discussed some synonyms of Kṛṣṇa, saying at p. 13, that Kṛṣṇa, Janārdana and Keśava

are *not* *Vṛśni* names, and at p. 51, that 'Govinda' has nothing to do with cows, but with 'go,' the earth, referring to the Boar-incarnation. In Mbh. V. 69, Saṁjaya tells Dhṛtarāṣṭra, the etymologies of some synonyms, and in another place, at Mbh. XII. 350, we find Kṛṣṇa expounding his names to Arjuna. Both these cases are more or less of an artificial nature, and the etymology of the word, 'Vāsudeva' given under Pāṇini's sūtra quoted, falls under this category. Both R. G. Bhandarkar, and Jacobi, have tried to put aside Vāsudeva altogether, rejecting on these grammatical grounds, that Vāsudeva is a patronymic, but the Epic and all the Purāṇic sources agree in putting Vasudeva as the father of Kṛṣṇa, and, as Pargitar, has pointed out at pp. 105, 107 of his 'Ancient Indian Historical Tradition,' we find his name properly placed in a regular genealogy of the Yādavas. In addition to this, we find his statement at p. 140. 'Kṛṣṇa is styled 'Dāśārha, Mādhava, Sāttvata, Vārsneya, and Śāuri' after various ancestors, as well as 'Vāsudeva' *after his father*. This use of patronymics seems to be more frequent in Kṣatriya than in Brāhmaṇa traditions.'

Along with other names we find Kṛṣṇa called 'the son of Devakī', as also of 'Vasudeva' all through the Mbh. and the Purāṇas; besides, there are in Mbh. about 14 occasional references to Vasudeva personally, and unless there is some scriptal error originally occurring in the Mahābhāṣya, and faithfully copied down by subsequent scribes, it seems rather strange that Patañjali, should go against the established tradition and state that Vāsudeva, is the son of Vāsu°, and not Vasu°. That the Ch. Up. mentions Kṛṣṇa, as merely a son of Devakī, is also not to be much made of, as the same epithet is given him, in the sources under consideration. It might be, a person was called after his father, as well as his mother, and subsequently the latter custom was somehow dropped away. In support of this statement a reference too, can fortunately, be given : at Atharvaveda, IV.16, the last Ṛk gives a sort of formula, the whole Ṛk being translated thus:— "with all these fetters, I fasten thee so and so, of such and such a family, *son of such and such* a mother...' Apart from this, it is also possible that this Kṛṣṇa initiated by Ghora Angirasa, was quite different from that of the Epic and Purāṇic traditions, which

mention only Sāṁdīpanī, in some cases, Garga, as his tutor, who is said to be a Kāśya; the same should be the case with the Vedic seer Kṛṣṇa; and more still, our Kṛṣṇa has not been stated to be a *seer* of Vedic hymns. If the identification of the two has to be taken at all, it is possible that the name of *our* Kṛṣṇa was attached to the particular Vedic hymns, where his name is found. Without going into details, we can see, that there are many hymns¹ in the R̥gveda, which have got two or more names of seers, with the alternative 'vā' = 'or', while on the other hand, we can see some, where the seers of particular R̥ks, are carefully mentioned. It would thus seem, that, at the time the collection was formed, the names of seers of some of the hymns were *not known* for certain, and more than one were current in popular tradition, which is recorded faithfully; in the same way, it is possible, that some hymns were found *without* any name, and these were, by the people, given, some fictitious names, as their seers, and the seer Kṛṣṇa might be one of the type. Epithets like "R̥ṣiḥ purāho vedātmā, Mbh. II.36,10, applied to Kṛṣṇa, glorify him only in the general sense, without referring to his seership.

7. Turning now to our main point, we have seen, that although incidental cross-references are found both in the Purāṇas and the Mbh. it can safely be stated, even from the present state of the texts, that these references have been inserted at some later stage of the textual development, and originally the two accounts were mutually exclusive; so that the question is whether the two accounts refer to the same Kṛṣṇa, or to different persons.

Following the *orthodox view*, we can say that *one is supplementary of the other*. Kṛṣṇa was first glorified in the Mbh. and the remaining account of his life, which had nothing to do with the Pāṇḍavas, and their warfare, and was still in oral tradition, was put together to be used in the Purāṇas. It need not be argued, that he was unscrupulous in attaining his ends, and thus an unfit person to preach the high philosophy of the Bhagavadgītā. To find quite different, even contradictory characteristics, in one and

1. Vide, R̥gveda I.105, vIII.42,71,102, X.9,11, 115 to quote only a few, where 'vā' is found; X.50 does not give any name, X.101 is doubtful about the deity.

the same person, is the very sign of greatness. The Pāṇḍavas, Bhīṣma and others were attached to him, considered him as their sole support and resort, and saw the great God in his person, while the Kauravas took him to be an ordinary man, and treated him as such; even taking the most indifferent stand, there is nothing strange or '*incongruous*', in our hero's being reared in a cow-settlement, Kāṁsa had put to death the first issues of Vasudeva, so, to avoid further calamity of the same nature, and to put off suspicion, the child was removed secretly to an unimposing place like the cow-settlement, and another substituted; while the child grew there, the upsetting of a cart (śakāṭa), killing of a bird (Pūtanā), a crane (Baka), an ass (Dhenuka), etc. were quite natural and ordinary incidents,—a boy of some dash could easily achieve these things. There is only one point which is given extraordinary importance in BVP, and is not solely missing in any of the Purāṇic sources: it is his sports with the Gopīs. Some of the sources state that Kṛṣṇa was at this time, only *seven* years' old, so any amorous play with the girls of the place is clearly out of question; it is *physically* impossible the only fact seems to be, that the boy was attractive in appearance, and sharp in his intellect, and was naturally endeared to all, especially the women-folk, he played on flute, and the music attracted the girls round him; of course, matter other than this, is all the play of imagination, and should not affect our hero, in the least.¹ There is only one gap in the story of this boy Kṛṣṇa, and that is, once gone to Mathurā with Akrura, he never returned to Gokula. The sources have tried to bridge this over, but their very disagreement in this respect, brings out the broad fact to light, that the original tradition had nothing to say on this point.

8. With regard to Kṛṣṇa's personal normal activities of an ordinary day, we have a reference in Mbh. at XII.52.2f. and in BhP at X. adh. 70 too; where we find him practising *Yoga*, early

1 Or, was it that the figure *seven* suggested complete development. This suggestion has been made, in other connection, by Art O'Mur naghan; see Theosophical path, October 1929 p. 491—"seven is a perfect number ...". If this interpretation is accepted, we shall have to take Kṛṣṇa to have attained his youth, when his love-sports would be, at least, physically possible.

in the morning. There is a reference in the Bh. Gītā at adh. IV stating that Kṛṣṇa revived the Yogic tradition. Perhaps it might be that he initiated the Pāṇḍavas, Bhīṣma and others in this practice, and was thus looked upon, by them, as their 'Guru-the God,' so that, while he was, to the world in general, a great hero and a politician, his inner circle looked upon him, even in his life time, as the reviver of an old system, the god incarnate come down to the Earth for the purpose.

But against all this orthodox view, there is a serious drawback in the two accounts, and it is, that they are mutually exclusive. An incident of greatest importance like the Mbh. war, Kṛṣṇa's preaching the message of the Bh. Gītā, are things which should not have been omitted in the Purāṇic accounts, as also on the other-hand, the Mbh. which brings hundreds of comparatively insignificant stories, in its finally developed form, of a lac of stanzas, should have recorded the rather wonderful incidents of his childhood: Janamejava is always curious to know each smallest detail, and it is strange that we do not find any connected account of Kṛṣṇa's story, in the vast text of the Mbh. (the Southern Recension trying to put in rather of this nature at Sahjaneryan coll. 2) and it does make the flaw only the more conspicuous.

If, on the other hand, we were to take the two accounts to refer to two different persons, there is much common matter that helps to identify the two, rather than separate them; so that, it is now impossible, on the authority of our present sources, the Epic and the Pūrāṇas--and these are mainly responsible for the Kṛṣṇa story; whether occasional references, outside this province, would make any conclusion valid, is doubtful to point out, where the two accounts separated and how they were mixed up; at best, we can only state that the mutual influence between these two is very great, and leave further analysis to higher criticism which would be subjective, and hence not acceptable to all alike.

APPENDIX I.

KṚṢṆA IDENTIFIED WITH THE SUPREME GODHEAD REFERENCES IN THE MBH (KUMBH. EDITION,)

I. 64. 141-146ab विष्णुः...वसुदेवानु देवक्यां प्रादुर्भूतो... । called also ब्रह्म, पुरुष
etc. धर्मसंस्थापनार्थाय प्रजं ज्ञान्धकवृष्णिनु ।

68. 39-54 Earth approaching Brahmā, who in his turn, goes
to Nārāyaṇa and requests : अंशेनावतरेत्येवं तथेत्याह च तं हरिः ।

68. 151 यस्तु नारायणो नाम देवदेवः सनातनः । तस्यांशो मातुषेष्वासीत् वासुदेवः प्रतापवान् ।
also शेषस्यांशो बलदेवः and सनत्कुमारं प्रद्युम्नं etc.

214. 32, 33 Kṛṣṇa born of the black hair of Nārāyaṇa.

227. 55, 56 महेन्द्रशासनादृत्वा विश्वकर्मा तु केशवं । प्रगम्य प्रणिपाताहं... ।

238. 10 Arjuna as यति-चिन्तयामास देवेशं केशवं क्लेशनाशनम् । which Kṛṣṇa
with सत्यभामा in bed, -दिव्यज्जनेन दृष्टवान् ।

II. 1. 21 लोकनाथः प्रजापतिः ।

13. 43 Yudh. सर्वलोकतात्परं मत्वा जगाम मनसा हरिम् । अप्रमेयं महाबाहुं कामाज्जात-
मजं नृपु ।

36. 10, 11 हरिः । ऋषिः पुराणो वेदात्मा दृश्यश्चैव विजानतां । जगतस्तस्थुषां श्रेष्ठः प्रभव-
श्चाव्ययश्च ह । भूतभव्यभवन्नाथः केशवः केशिसुदनः । came to Yudh.
with presents for the Rājasūya.

39. 13-20 Nārada, on the अर्घ्य occasion, thinks of हरि नारायण be-
come incarnate as Kṛṣṇa, अन्यकवृष्णीनां वंशे जातः ।

41. 6ff. भीष्म declaring K. as Supreme God.

62. 9 Nārada supporting सहेद्वः-कृष्णं कमलपत्राक्षं नार्चयिष्यन्ति ये नराः ।
जीवन्मृतास्तु ते ज्ञेया न संभाष्याः कदाचन ।

63. 14 Bhisma to Yudh.-माधव, the प्रभव and निधन, of all the चतुर्विध
भूत's in three worlds.

67. 42 यादवस्य देवस्य (देहं विशानु पातितः).

70. 52 शिशुपाल's तेजः entered the body of K.

90. 43-49 prayer of K. by Draupadī, at the time of वस्त्रहरण.
Ś. & N. Recensions have different texts, here.

III. 12. 10ff केशव who is पुरुष, अप्रमेय, सत्य, अमृततेजस्, प्रजापतिपति, विष्णु
etc. is praised by Arj. describing his feats.

45. 26 Indra to लोमशः—धूमिगतः श्रीमान्विष्णुर्मधुनिपुनः । कपिलो नाम देवेशो भगवानजितो हरिः ।
46. 38 धृतराष्ट्र to संजयः—जनार्दनः हरिश्चैलोक्यनाथः being the मन्त्री, गोप्ता and सुहृद् of Arjuna.
86. 25–28 धौम्य to Yudh.—पुण्या द्वारवती where साक्षादेवः पुराणः परमेश्वरः हरिः आस्ते ।
192. 53 मार्कण्डेय to Yudh. स एष कृष्णो...पुराणपुरुषो हरिरचिन्त्यात्मा... ।
202. 18 मार्कण्डेय to Yudh. देवकीपुत्रेण नरके मज्जमानो राजपिर्नृगो ... स्वर्गे प्रापितः ।
264. 8–15 द्रौपदी praying K. as god at the दुर्वास affair [ref. दुःशासनादहं पूर्वं सभायां मोचिता त्वया । the whole of this adh. is a Northern text. Kṛṣṇa's help in the सभा affair is doubtful as there are two texts for the prayer and the वस्त्रहरण is not mentioned in any other Epic reference ; the insult made much of is her being dragged to the court, while she was रजस्वला.]

273. 72 Śiva to जयद्रथः—स एष भगवान्विष्णुः कृष्णोति परिकीर्त्यते ।

?11. 28 Indra to Karna : स (Arj.) यमाहुः नागयणमचिन्त्यं च तेन कृष्णेन रक्षयते ।

V. 7. 24 Arj. has, K. who is नृषु कामाज्जान, भजः etc.

7. 36 पीताम्बरधरो जगत्स्रष्टा जनार्दनः ।

22. 10 धृत्. to संजय—लोकत्रयस्याधिपतिर्महात्मा ।

22. 30 „ „ „ अनुस्मरंस्तस्य कर्माणि विष्णोः ।

„ 33 „ „ „ सनातनो वृष्णिवीर्यश्च विष्णुः ।

48. 84, 88. K. called विष्णु by Arjuna.

53. 3 धृतराष्ट्रः—स स्रष्टा जगतः कृष्णः who would subjugate all the worlds.

67. संजय to धृतराष्ट्रः—सार्धो जगतः कृत्स्नादतिरिक्तं जनार्दनः, who would burn the world, is the Lord of Time and Death, etc.

68. 3 संजय knows K. to be त्रियुगं...कर्तारिमकृतं देवं धृतानां प्रभवाप्ययम् ।

69. „ relates to धृतराष्ट्र, etymologies of Kṛṣṇa's Synonyms. These seem to be, more or less *ar ificial*.

70 धृतराष्ट्र praises K. as सनातन, सहस्रशीर्ष, पुगणपुरुष etc.

82. 36 ईश्वरः सर्वभूतानां देवदेवः सनातनः leaving for हस्तिनापुर.

83. धृतराष्ट्र advising a reception of Kṛṣṇa :—भूतानामीश्वरो हि सः

86. 3 „, त्रयाणामपि लोकानां भगवान्प्रणितामहः ।

90. 67 Kuntī :—नमो धर्माय मेधसे । कृष्णाय महते नित्यं धर्मो धारयति प्रजाः ।

107. 14 गालव-विष्णुं गच्छाम्यहं कृष्णं... ।

„ 15 भोगा यस्मात्प्रतिष्ठन्ते ... । कृष्णं योगिनमव्ययम् ।

130. 55-67 बिदुर to दुर्योधन, refers to the Purāṇic feats of K. :—
अयं कर्ता न क्रियते कारणं चापि पौरुषे ।

131. 4-6 K. showing his विश्वरूप, seen by द्रोण, भीष्म, बिदुर, संजय,
धृतराष्ट्र.

V. 169. 16 भीष्म to दुर्योधन-गुडाकेशो नारायणसहायवान् ।

VI. 21. 11, 14-16 Arj. to Yudh, अनन्ततेजा गोविन्दो... । पुरुषःसनातनमयो यतः कृष्ण-
स्ततो जयः । पुरा ह्येष हरिर्भूत्वा... । तत्प्रसादाद्भि त्रैलोक्यं प्राप्तं शक्रादिभिः
सुरैः ।

25-42, Bhagavadgītā, where Kṛṣṇa identified himself with
the God.

59. 96, 97 Bhīṣma to K. :—देवेश जगन्निवास etc.

65-68 „, to दुर्योधन relating the विश्वोपाख्यान; where ब्रह्मा requested
the God to come to the earth as Kṛṣṇa.

98. 14-15 भीष्म to दुर्योधन :—यस्य गोप्ता जगत्प्रष्टा शङ्खचक्रगदाधरः । वासुदेवोऽनन्त
शक्तिः ... । सर्वेश्वरो देवदेवः... ।

106. 62-64 भीष्म welcoming death at the hands of K. :—देवदेवः
प्रहरस्व यथेष्टं... ।

II. 10. 76 धृतराष्ट्र :—नारायणो रणे नाथो दिव्यो दिव्यात्मकः प्रभुः ।

29. 34 K. explains to Arj. his fourfold form :—(1) तपश्चर्यां कुरुते
भुषि, (2) पश्यति जगत् (3) कुरुते कर्म मानुषं, and (4) शेति... निद्रां वर्षसहस्रि-
कीम् ।

33. 12 द्रोण to दुर्योधन :—विश्वसूयं यत्र गोविन्दः... ।

49. 1 विष्णोः स्वसुर्नन्दकरः स विष्णवायुध भूषणः । i.e. अभिमन्यु.

79. 9 सर्वेषामीश्वरेश्वरः ।...विष्णुः comforted Arj.

83. 10-20 Yudh. praising K. in the presence of other kings :—
सर्वेश, देवदेवेश, विष्णोः, हरे, कृष्ण etc. नारदस्त्वां समाचख्यौ पुराणमृषि-
सत्तमम् ।

143. 60 K. ordered भृत्श्रिवा to go to his world and obtain divine
from like himself.

150. 5ff, Yudh. after the death of Jayadratha, praises K. as the
supreme Lord.

- VIII. 23. 61 Karna to दुर्यो.—कृष्णश्च जगतः स्रष्टा रथं तमभिरक्षति (of Arjuna).
 65. 1 नारायणसमाहिते रथे.
 72. 14 Arj. took:—त्वमस्य जगतस्तात वेत्थ सर्वं गतागतम् ।
 83. 65 Karna to Śalya:—(Arjuna)...नारायणेनाप्रतिमेन युतः । यस्य गुणा न शक्यं वक्तुं...महात्मनः विष्णोर्जिष्णोर्वसुदेवात्मजस्य ।
 101. 29-34 Yudh. praised K. after Karna's death.
- IX. 18. 27 पाञ्चालाः पाण्डवैः सह speaking:—येषां च जगतोऽनाथो नाथः कृष्णो जनार्दनः ।
 63. 12 भूतानामीश्वरे महात्मनि अवतीर्णं, Arjuna's रथ was reduced to ashes.
- XII. 42 Yudh. after his coronation, praises Kṛṣṇa:—विष्णुः, पुराणः, वैकुण्ठः, हंसः, हिरण्यगर्भः etc. (100 names of विष्णु acc. to S. Recn).
 45 Yudh. praising K. as a perfect yogin, and Lord ... कर्ता विकर्ता च त्वं क्षरश्चाक्षरश्च ह ।
 46 भीष्मस्तवराज, where K. is addressed as the Godhead.
 „ 136 हरिः (K.) gives त्रैलोक्यदर्शनं ज्ञानं to भीष्म.
 50. 2-9 भीष्म praises K. in his विश्वरूपः दिवं ते शिरसा व्याप्तं पृथ्वा देवी वसुंधरा ।
 51. 15 K. grants भीष्म divine knowledge, ease of limbs, etc.
 53. 25ff वासुदेव grants boons to भीष्म that his words would be honoured, and his fame would be eternal.
 110. 35-38 भीष्म to Yudh: य एष...तव च्युतः ।...वैकुण्ठः पुरुषोत्तमः : य एनं संश्रयन्तीह भक्त्या नारायणं हरिम् । ते तस्मीह दुर्गाणि... ।
 206. भीष्म tells Yudh. how विष्णु, केशव, नारायण performed the creation, and identifies him with Kṛṣṇa, as related by नारद.
 208. 1 Yudh. wants to know all re: कृष्णमव्ययमीश्वरम् ।
 „ 47 भीष्म tells all, giving the अवतारः, and concludes: स एष...सर्व-भूतादिरीश्वरः ।
 212 वार्ष्णेयाध्यात्मः वासुदेवः सर्वमिदं विश्वस्य ब्रह्मणो मुखम् । पुरुषं सनातनं विष्णु... ।
 286. 60 identifying जनार्दन with विष्णु नारायण [whose powers were told to वृत्र by सनत्कुमार.
 „ 62 K. is the तुरीयांश of the great God.
 348. 21-54 कृष्णावतार foretold by भगवान् to नारद (St. 25, 26, 30-33, 36-9, 41 cd—53 S. interp).
 „ 55 सात्वत the ninth अवतार.
 350 K. expounds his names to Arjuna.
 352 do. do. do.
 358. 88 कृष्ण एव हि लोकानां भावने मोहनस्तथा संहारकारकश्चैव कारणं च विशीषते ।

- XIII. 263 भीष्म praises Kṛṣṇa, as the first creator, supreme God, identifies him with नारायण परम अव्यय (46.)
- XIV. 52. 6ff Arj. praising Kṛṣṇa : विश्वकर्मन्मस्तेस्तु विश्वात्मन्विश्वसन्म ।...त्वयि-
सर्वमिदं विश्व...।
54. K. explains to उदङ्क his divine form.
55. 4, 5 K. reveals to उदङ्क his divine form.
- ... 7-14 the sage praises Kṛṣṇa.
- ... 38, 39 K. gave water in the मरु land.
68. उत्तरा praying K. for the revival of her child :--इच्छन्नपि हि-
लोकांस्त्रीन् जीवयेथा मृतानिमान् ।
- XV. 33. 11 व्यास to गान्धारी—नारायणं हृषीकेशं (विद्धि).
- XVI. 5. 28 नारायण :—योगाचार्यो रोदसी व्याप्य लक्ष्म्या । स्थानं प्राप्तं स्वं महात्मा प्रमेयं ।
- XVIII 5. 23 व्यास's teaching :--यस्म नारायणो देवो...। तस्यांशो वासुदेवस्तु कर्मणोन्ते
विवेश ह ॥



APPENDIX II.

KṚṢṆA AND ARJUNA IDENTIFIED WITH NĀRĀYAṆA AND NARA IN THE MBH.

- I. 1. 198 यदाश्रोषं नरनारायणौ तौ कृष्णाञ्जुनौ वदतो नागदस्य ।
- .68. 119 (सोम to gods re : अभिमन्यु's last fight) : नरनारायणाभ्यां तु स
संप्रामो विनाकृतः ।
- .238. 24 अस्तां प्रियसखायौ तौ नरनारायणावृषी । (Kṛṣṇa and Arjuna
at Prabhāsa).
- .250. 8, 9 नरनारायणौ यौ तौ...। अर्जुनं वासुदेवं च यौ तौ लोको अभिमन्यते । (Brahmā
asking Agni to approach them).
- .254. 18 नरनारायणोर्वेतौ पूर्वदेवा दिवि श्रुतौ । (अशिरिणी वाक् Indra in
Khāṇḍava fight).
- II. 89. 45 कृष्णं च हरिं नरं च ब्राणाय विक्रोशति याज्ञसेनी ।
- III. 12. 46-48 Kṛṣṇa to Arjuna : ममैव त्वं तवैवाहं...। नरस्वमासि...हरिर्नारायणो
ह्यहम् ।
- .40. 1-3 Śiva to Arjuna : नरस्त्वं पूर्वदेहे वै नारायणसहायवान् ।
- .45. 18, 19 Indra to लोमशः नरनारायणौ यौ तौ पुराणौ ऋषिसत्तमी । तावेताव-
भिजानीहि हृषीकेशधनंजयौ ॥
- .84. 6 युधि० to धौम्य :...अहमपि जानामि नरनारायणावृषी ।
- ? 126. 19 प्रस्रवणगिरि where नरनारायणौ practised penance.
- .273. 31, 82 Indra to Jayadratha :...अर्जुनं नरं नाम नारायणसहायक

V. 49. 19 पितामह to the gods : वासुदेवार्जुनौ वीरौ ...। नरनारायणौ देवौ पूर्वदेवार्चानि श्रुतिः।

.96. 49 जामदग्न्य to Kauravas : नरनारायणौ यौ तौ तावेवार्जुनकेशवौ।

.111. 4 स्रुपर्ण to गालवः अत्र नारायणः कृष्णो जिष्णुश्चैव नरोत्तमः।

VI. 23. 18 दुर्गास्तोत्र, देवी to Arjuna : नरस्त्वमसि दुर्धर्ष नारायणसहायवान्।

.121. 32 कथितो नारदेनासि पुनर्विपरिमितयुते। वासुदेवसहायस्त्वं...॥ Bhīṣma to Arjuna.

VII. 11. 41 Dhṛtarāṣṭra : पूर्वदेवौ महात्मानौ नरनारायणावुभौ।

.77. 2 After the death of Abhimanyu, नरनारायणौ क्रुद्धौ ज्ञात्वा देवाः सवासवाः। were anxious as to what would happen.

VII. 80. 51 Śiva sees नरनारायणौ उभौ अगतौ for पाशुपतास्त्र.

.81. 9 Kṛṣṇa and Arjuna नरनारायणावृषी, went to the lake and brought पाशुपतास्त्र.

.201. 14 नरनारायणौ tried their utmost to put down नारायणास्त्र.

.202. 53ff व्यास to अश्वत्थामाः penance of sage नारायण,—called वासुदेव at st. 72,—his seeing Rudra who granted him boons. Kṛṣṇa and Arjuna = Nārāyaṇa and Nara.

VII. 52. 19 सर्वभूतवरौ वीरौ नरनारायणाविभौ।

.92. 13 महाव्रह्मा to प्रजापति, when the fight between Arjuna and Karna was serious : स्रष्टारौ जगतश्चेतौ...। नरनारायणावेतौ...।

XIII. 252. 55, 56 after फलश्रुति st. of कृष्णमाहात्म्यः वासुदेवधनंजयो practise तप at बदरी for 100 years, as related by नारद.

.273. 44 भीष्म's last prayer : नरनारायणावेतौ संभूतौ मभुजेष्विति।

APPENDIX III.

MBH. REFERENCES TO VASUDEVA.

(This point is referred to at p. 332.)

I. 64. 141 वसुदेवानु देवक्यां प्रादुर्भूतः ...।

163. 32 स्वसारं वसुदेवस्य ... (i. e. Kuntī).

239. 15 वसुदेवसुतां श्रुत्वा । (i. e. Subhadrā).

II. 40. 6 वसुदेवे स्थिते वृद्धे कथमर्हति तत्सुतः। Śiśupāla asking, when Kṛṣṇa was being given arghya.

III. 304. 24 वसुदेवस्य भगिनी (i. e. Kuntī).

VII. 144. 10 देवकीं वसुदेवार्थं। निजित्य... (शनि won देवकी on behalf of Vasudeva.

A. 21.

- XII. 47. 31 यं देवं देवकी देवी वसुदेवाद्जीजनत् ।
 XIII. आनकदुन्दुभि son of द्युम्न, and father of Kṛṣṇa, of four hands (1).
 XIV. 60. 61 Kṛṣṇa related to Vasudeva the events of the Mbh. war.
 83. 15 Vasudeva with Ugrasena going to receive Arjuna
 with the sacrificial horse, at Dvārakā.
 XVI. 7 Arjuna came to see Vasudeva after the greatly unhappy
 end of the Yādavas.
 8. 15-26 Death of Vasudeva, who was followed by his
 four widows to the funeral pyre.
 XVIII. 5. 16 Vasudeva among those, who, after death, entered the
 deities.

APPENDIX IV.

LIST OF SOME HYMNS IN R̥GVEDA GIVING ALTERNATIVE NAMES FOR THEIR SEERS.

(This point is referred to at p. 333.)

- I. 105 आप्यञ्जितः कुत्सो वा.
 II. 1 गुत्समद् आगिरसः शौनहोवः पश्चात् भार्गवः शौनकः
 VIII. 42 नाभाकः काण्वः अर्चनाना वा । अथवा १-३ नाभाकः काण्वः । ४-६ नाभाकः काण्वः
 अर्चनाना वा ।
 .67 मत्स्यः सामदो मान्यो वा मेवावरुणिर्बहवो वा मत्स्या जालनद्धाः ।
 .71 सुदीति पुरुमीह्वो तयोर्वा अन्यतरः ।
 .73 गोपवन आत्रेयः सप्तभिर्वा ।
 .86 कृष्णोविश्वको वा कार्णिः ।
 .87 कृष्णो युष्मकी वा वासिष्ठः प्रियमेधो वा ।
 .92 श्रुतकक्षः सुकक्षो वा ।
 .94 चिन्द्रः पूसदक्षो वा ।
 .96 तिश्रिरीर्युतानो वा भारुतः ।
 .102 प्रयोगो भार्गव अग्निर्वा पावक बार्हस्पत्यः । अथवाग्नी गृहपतियविष्टो सहसः सुतो
 तयोर्वा अन्यतरः ।
 IX 5. 24 आसर्तः काश्यपो देवलो वा ।
 .9 त्रिशिरास्त्वष्ट्रः सिन्धुद्वीपो वा अम्बरीषः ।
 .19 मयिनो यामापनो भृगुर्वा वारुणिश्चवन्नो वा भार्गवः ।

- .20-26 पितर ऐन्द्रः प्राजापत्यो वा वसुकृद्वा वासुकः ।
- .50 No mention of any seer
- .65 भृगुर्वाह्णिर्जमदग्निर्वा ।
- .67 different names for different groups of st., but for 23-32,
पवित्रो वसिष्ठो वोभो वा ।
- .72 बृहस्पतिर्बृहस्पतिर्वा लोक्य अदितिर्वा दाक्षायणी ।
- .79, 80 अग्निः सौचीको वैश्वानरो वा समिर्वा वाजंभरः ।
- .88 धूर्धन्वानांगिरसो वामदेव्यो वा ।
- .101 doubtful about *the deity* विश्वेदेवा ऋत्विजो वा ।
- .102 „ „ „ द्रुघव इन्द्रो वा ।
- .105 doubtful about the name and epithet :-
कौत्सो दुर्मित्रो नाम्ना सुमित्रो गुणतः, सुमित्रो वा नाम्ना दुर्मित्रो गुणतः ।
- .107 दिव्यो दक्षिणा वा प्राजापत्या । दक्षिणा, तद्दातारो वा ।
- .109 जुह्व्रेह्यजायोर्ध्वनाभा वा ब्राह्म ।
- .110 जमदग्निस्तत्सुतो वा रामः ।
- .114 भाभ्रिर्वैरूपो धर्मा वा तापसः ।
- .115 उपसृजो वार्द्धिद्वयः ।

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APPENDIX V.

GENEALOGY OF THE YĀDAVAS—THE SĀTVATAS
(Pargiter—Ancient Indian Historical Tradition, pp. 105, 107).
(This point is referred to at p. 332.)



